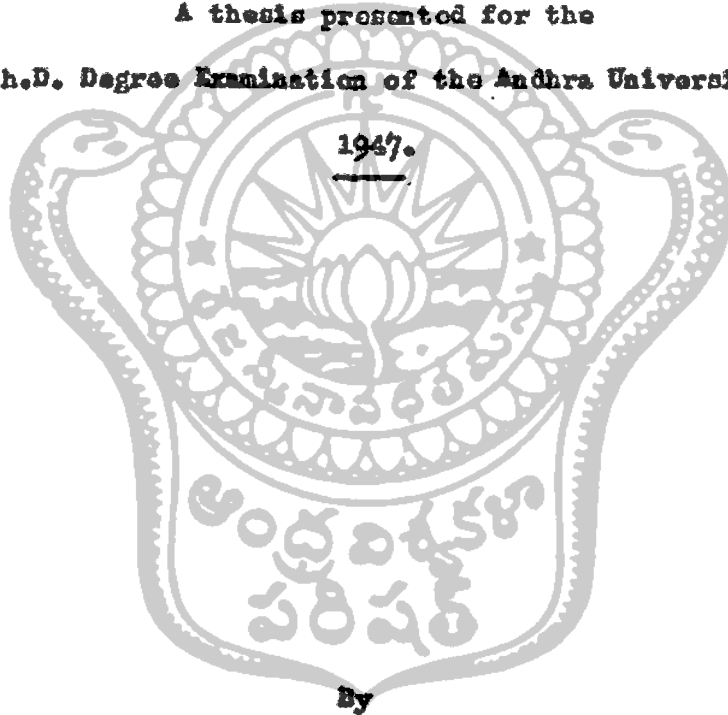


**GAJAPATIS OF ORISSA.**

A thesis presented for the  
Ph.D. Degree Examination of the Andhra University

1947.



By

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## P R E F A C E.

The following pages embody an effort to depict the dynastic history of the Gajapatis of Orissa from an interstate point of view. Poet Śrinātha described Kondavidu as a temptation and snare for the three kings namely the Gajapati, the Harapati and the Mayapati, who ruled over Orissa, Vijayanagara and Gulbarga respectively. The Gajapatis dominated the scene throughout. But for a short eclipse during the initial years of Purusōttama, Gajapati power was writ large over the entire eastern coast from the Ganges to the Pennā, for more than a century. Yet their history has been written so far only by two scholars, W.W.Hunter and R.D. Banerji, and that too as a part of the General History of Orissa. Very much work has been done since on the history of the neighbouring contemporary dynasties. A more specialised study of the history of the Gajapatis of Orissa is thus rendered necessary and hence my venture in this direction.

I am aware of the needs of a comprehensive study of this nature and the variety of its source material. But as Kondavidu the cockpit of the three rival powers is situate in Coastal Āndhra, I have made the fortunes of the Coastal Āndhra the pivot of my Gajapati Studies.

Kapilēndra's usurpation of the Eastern Gāṅga throne at Outtack proved beneficial to Orissa. Kapilēndra established the



Gajapati empire and preserved it from all enemies external and internal. The time and place of his death reveal that all was not well for Purusōttama, his successor. He had to survive a civil war and a conflict with the Bahmani power even to secure his place on the Gajapati throne. He found his southern dominions threatened not by the later Saṅgamas, who were weak, but by one of their subordinates, Sālūva Nṛsimha who afterwards supplanted the Saṅgamas in Vijayanagara. Purusōttama would not however permit Sālūva Nṛsimha to dispossess him of his Andhra dominion. Whilst he ruled, he preserved the Gajapati dominions in tact. His son and successor, Pratāparudra, more accomplished than his father, was, however, called upon to fight against Kṛṣṇarāya the Tuluva ruler of Vijayanagara. His very best would not avail him against the superior strength of his enemy and he was forced to content himself with the river Kṛṣṇa for his southern boundary. His losses in the field drove him to take solace in religion. Though he fought several wars later against Sultān Qūlī of Gōlkonda those were all defensive in intent and did not add an inch of new territory to Orissa nor restore a tithe of what it had lost. After him the empire of Orissa went the way of all empires - a prey to discard, degeneracy and decay.

I have attempted in this thesis to describe ~~this~~ this political picture in its correct chronological setting. If my conclusions differed from those of the previous writers, the new materials that



are at my disposal have been responsible for them. I have exhaustively dealt with the circumstances which helped Kapilendra Gajapati to usurp the Gāṅga throne. I have reexamined the date of his death and the nature of the Civil War between his sons for the crown of Orissa. The third Chapter, "Dwindling of the Empire", is devoted to trace the relations between Pratāparudra and Kṛṣṇarāya, and I have followed the old line of thought but enriched that with more details culled from Local Records. Short accounts of the minor fortresses that figure prominently in this imperial struggle have also been added. I have also traced the several stages of Pratāparudra's wars with Qūlī Qutb Shāh of Gōlkonda. The administrative side of the Gajapati kingdom and its literary, religious and cultural development are given due attention. As appendices to this thesis I have incorporated my views on (1) the title Navakōṭi Karmāta Kalavaragēśvara (2) the authorship of Sarasvatī Vilāsa (3) Kāñchi-Kaverī expedition and (4) the history of some of the feudatories of the Gajapati monarchs.

I acknowledge with pleasure my indebtedness to the pioneers and scholars in this field of historical research. To Prof. Gurty Venket Rao, Head of the Department of History and Politics under whose direction this work was written, I owe a deep debt of gratitude. I cannot adequately thank Śrī Mallampalli Samesekhara Śarma, one of the foremost historians and Epigraphists of South India who initiated me into the field of historical Research. I am thankful to Dr. O. Ramachandralaya, Lecturer in History, for kindly encouraging me with





valuable suggestions. My thanks are also due to the Vice-Chancellor and the Syndicate of the Andhra University who have been very considerate to me and to the needs of my Research Work.

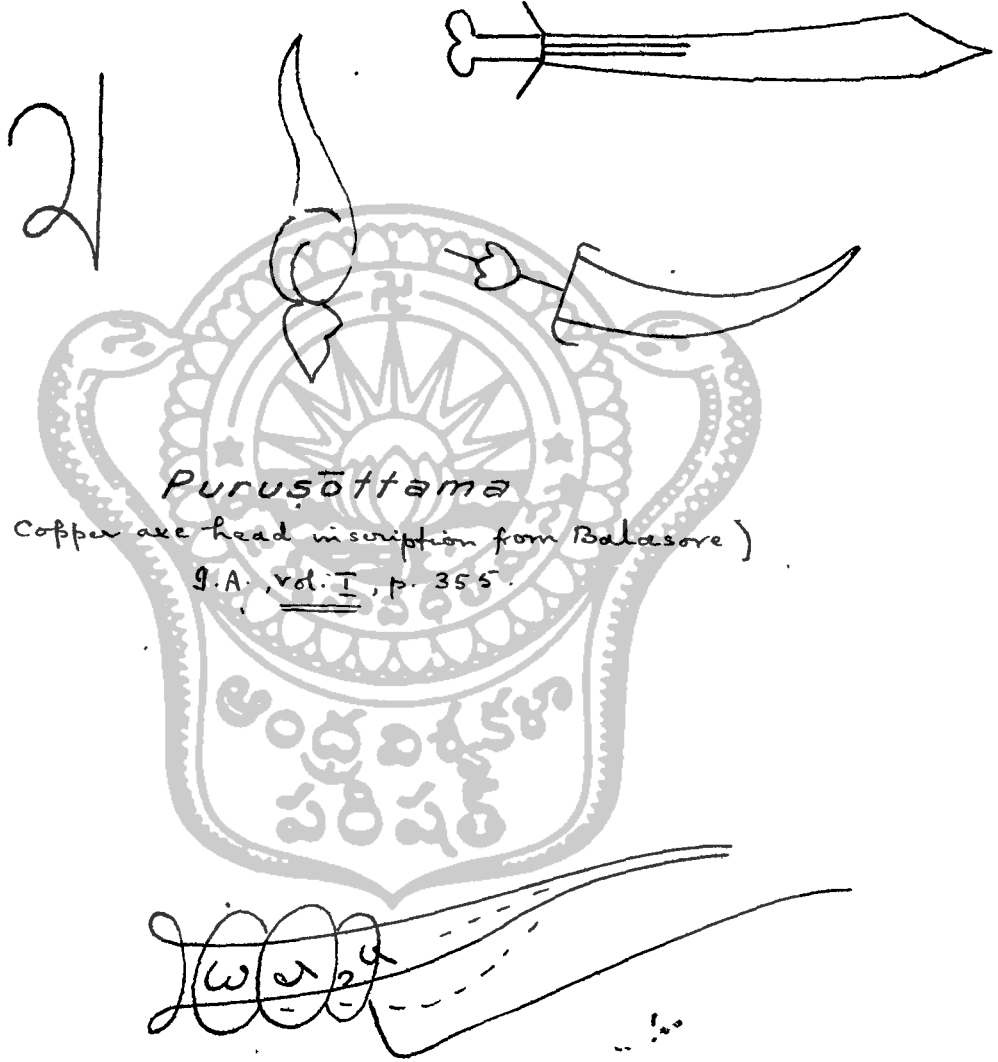
I declare that I have not submitted substantially the same Thesis to any other University.

—10001—

R. Subrahmanyam.



## GAJAPATI SIGN MANUAL



*Pratāparudra*

(From ~~Uttara~~ Plates - Bharati, Aug. 1936, p. 278)



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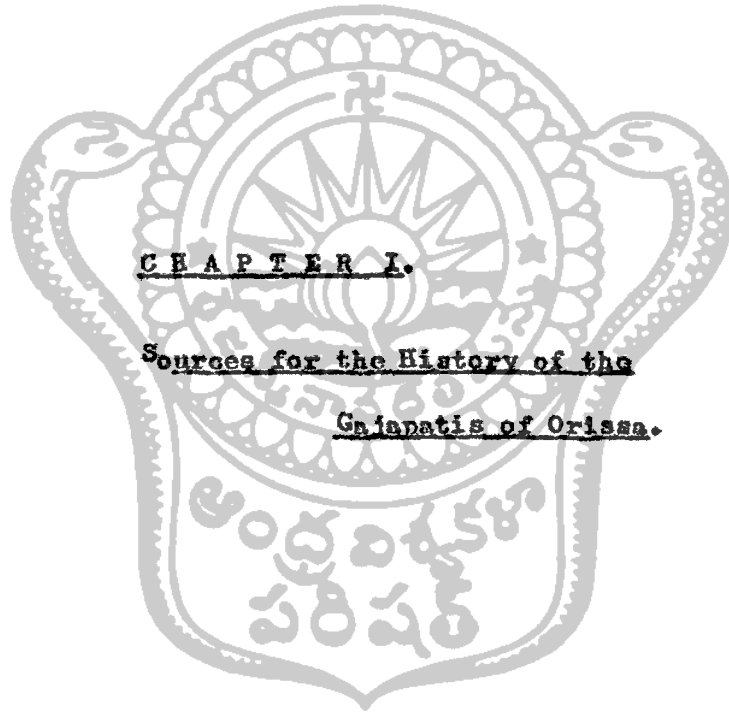
## ABBREVIATIONS.

|                   |   |
|-------------------|---|
| A.R.              | Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy (numbers such as 51 of 1919 refer to particular inscriptions in this work). |
| A.S.P.P.          | Andhra Sahitya Parishat Patrika.  |
| A.S.R.            | Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India.  |
| A.O.              | Antiquities of Orissa.  |
| Briggs.           | Translation of Ferishta: History of the Rise of Mahomedan Power in India.   |
| C.H.I.            | Cambridge History of India.   |
| C.P.              | Copper Plate Grants.  |
| E.C.<br>Epi.Car.  | Epigraphia Carnatica.   |
| E.I.<br>Ep.Ind.   | Epigraphia Indica.  |
| F.E.<br>For. Emp. | Forgotten Empire by R. Sewall.  |
| Further Sources.  | Further Sources of Vijayanagara History:<br>K.A. Nilakanta Sastri and Dr. N. Venkataramanayya.                      |
| H.R.              | Hindustan Review.   |
| I.A.<br>Ind. Ant. | Indian Antiquary.   |
| I.H.Q.            | Indian Historical Quarterly.  |
| J.A.H.R.S.        | Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society.  |
| J.A.S.B.          | Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.   |
| J.B. & O.R.S.     | Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society.   |
| J.B.R.S.          | Journal of Bihar Research Society.  |
| J.I.H.            | Journal of Indian History.  |



|                  |   |
|------------------|---|
| J.O.R.           | Journal of Oriental Research.   |
| J.R.A.S.         | Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.   |
| L.R.<br>Loc.Rec. | Local Records.  |
| Mac.Mss.         | Mackenzie Manuscripts.  |
| M.E.R.           | Madras Epigraphical Reports.  |
| Mel.Ins.         | Inscriptions of Mellore District by Messrs.<br>Butterworth and Venugopal Chetty.          |
| P.I.H.C.         | Proceedings of the Indian History Congress.   |
| Q.E.M.           | Quarterly Journal of Mythic Society.  |
| S.I.I.           | South Indian Inscriptions.  |
| Sources.         | Sources for the Vijayanagar History.  |
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| T.T.             | Tirupati-Tirumalai Devasthanam Inscriptions<br>Reported by S. Subrahmanya Sastri.         |
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CHAPTER I.

Sources for the History of the  
Gajapatis of Orissa.



The title 'Gajapati' or 'lord of elephants' was invariably borne by the Sūryavamsi dynasty which ruled from Cuttack in Orissa during the period 1435 to 1550 A.D.

The Sarasvativilāsa describes these kings as 'सततदान राधा स्तुत... कपिलेज्वरो गजपतिः कथं वर्ण्यते; श्री पुरुषोत्तमो गजपतिः; श्री वीररुद्रदेवो गजपति रभवत्... "

These titles 'Gajapati and Gajarat' were exclusively associated with the kings of the dynasty for they invariably maintained the glory of the title. There is not a single inscription of these kings which does not begin with the prasasti "श्री वीरगजपति गौडेज्वर ". Because of this, historians have styled them as Gajapatis of Cuttack and Gajapatis of Orissa.

This title was also borne by some of the Eastern Gāṅga rulers of Kalinga. Inscriptions of Vajrabasta III and Anantavarman Cōḍa Gāṅga supply us only the titles "Gaṅgānavaḥambanamūlastambha" and "Trikalingādhināti". The title 'Gajapati' was borne only by the successors of Cōḍa Gāṅga but it is difficult to fix the exact date of its origin. From the beginning of the Gāṅga rule, the seaboard tract of Orissa alone formed part of their kingdom. The hilly regions of the west were not under their authority. Those who conquered them appear to have borne the title "त्रिकलिङ्गगजपति".



By the time of Vajrahasta it became a part of the Kalinga kingdom. His grandson Coda Gaṅga extended the frontiers in all directions, east, west and north. Then they became masters of the whole of Utkala or Orissa. Probably when Orissa was permanently annexed to the kingdom of Kalinga, the Gaṅga kings began bearing the title 'Gajapati'. But they did not attach much value or significance to this title like their successors, the Śūryavamśi kings who are famous as the Gajapatis of Orissa.

The main sources for the history of this dynasty may be roughly divided into two categories, Literary and Epigraphic. None of the monuments of these rulers have come down to us.

I. Literary: (a) Hindu:— The temple priests of Jagannātha, who were patronized by the rulers of Orissa, have maintained a chronological account of the various kings, their gifts to the temple, and other events of great interest. They are mainly connected with the temple and since the Pāñjis or palm leaves, on which the records were written, were tied together in round bundles resembling a drum, they were called Mādala Pāñji. Ramaprasad Chanda characterises this account as one which "includes all classes of records relating to the temple of Jagannātha, such as inventories of articles in the stores, duties of different classes of temple servants, routine of ceremonies, copies of orders of the Gajapati Maharajas of Orissa



who are the hereditary trustees of the temple and the annals of the Maharajas".<sup>1</sup> About the date of their composition scholars are divided. Babu Rajendralal Mitra,<sup>2</sup> on palaeographical grounds, thinks that it was commenced six centuries ago and Stirling<sup>3</sup> also endorsed the same opinion regarding the antiquity of the chronicle. The chronicle itself is found in three languages, Oriya, Sanskrit and Telugu under the titles Mahadeva Pāñji, Katakaraṇa Vamsāvali, and Jagannāthai Kaiyivak respectively. The chapters on the annals of the kings contained in these records give us a number of details about the kings, their dates of accession, the number of years they ruled and their conquests with special emphasis on their endowments to the temple of Jagannātha. Thus it forms a very important source for the reconstruction of the history of the period. The incidents recorded are fairly true and a majority of them find corroboration in inscriptions and Muslim chronicles. A few examples of this are cited in the following table.

- 
1. J.B.O.R.S. Vol.XIII.
  2. Antiquities of Orissa, Vol.I, p.10.
  3. Asiatic Researches, Vol.XV. P.1636



| <u>Mādala Pañji.</u> | <u>Inscriptions.</u> | <u>Chronicles.</u> |
|----------------------|----------------------|--------------------|
|----------------------|----------------------|--------------------|

Kapilendra.

14th Anka. seized  
Rajamundry.

Penugonda Inscription  
of Kapilendra dated  
S.1370 (1449 A.D.).

23rd Anka, he defeated  
the ruler of Kunda-  
thori and took his  
queen Candravati as  
captive, appointed  
his own kinsmen as  
ruler of the country.  
Refers to the fight  
for the throne among  
his 18 sons after his  
death.

Ganadova's Gintapalli-  
pādu and Kondavidu  
inscriptions dated  
S.1376 and S.1377.

Verishta refers to  
this war of succes-  
sion in Orissa.

Purusottama.

Refers to the war against  
the ruler of Karnāta  
(the fact is mixed up in  
a romantic story).

Mentions Pratāparudra  
as the son of Puru-  
sottama.

Anantavaram plates  
of Pratāparudra,  
bear ample corrobora-  
tion.

Numerous inscriptions  
of Pratāparudra  
corroborate this.

Pratāparudra.

Refers to his expedi-  
tions to the south early  
in his reign.

The Anantavaram, Rajavolu  
and Volicherla plates of  
the same monarch say that  
he was encamped at those  
places while proceeding for  
conquest.

The attack of Hussain  
Shah.

Gaitanya's visit to Puri.

Volicherla Plates.

Gaitanya Ciri-  
tantra.

4. For an explanation of this mode of calculation see infra. pp 15-16



In spite of these, the account suffers from certain inherent defects. "It begins with the enumeration of the kings of Satya yuga or the age of Purity and brings it down year by year to the present time noticing every remarkable thing that has taken place in the province in connection with the history of the idol." As such, all sorts of fictitious stories had got in; miracles were also incorporated. Some of the dates given in the account are incorrect and they do not find corroboration in inscriptions.

Yet this account, with all its shortcomings, forms one of the main sources of information. With some difficulty the truth can be culled out of the fiction contained in it.

II. Sarasvati Vilāsa:— The work was composed during the reign of Pratāparudra Gajapati. It is a work on polity or Dharma śāstra and its authorship is attributed to Pratāparudra Dēva himself. But there is ample evidence to prove that it was the composition of Lolla Lakṣmīdhara, a court poet and not of Pratāparudra.<sup>5</sup>

Since it is also a contemporary work ordinarily we would rely on the materials supplied by it. It contains some interesting information of the kings, their conquests and a genealogy.

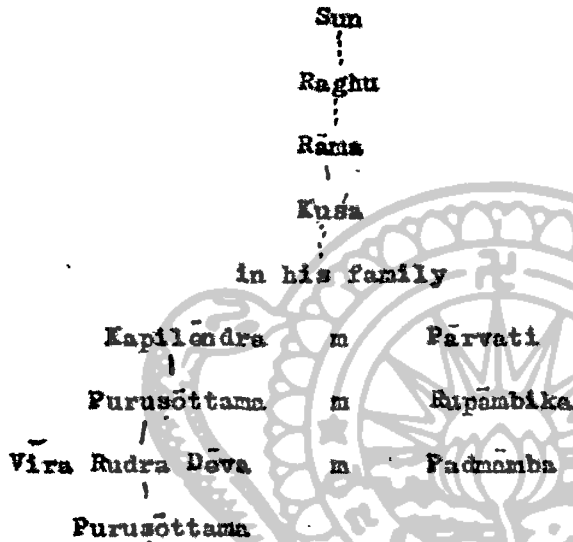
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5. See Appendix. NO II pp 297-300.





It supports the view that this dynasty belonged to Sūryavamśa and traces their descent from the great hero Rāma of the Ramayana fame.



In making Purusottama a son of Kapilendra by Pārvati it goes against the Local tradition which makes him a Shōgini Mandana. Since it was composed during the reign of Pratāparudra, the stigma attached to the birth of his father might have been omitted. Moreover, it is silent about certain prominent characters that played an important part in the history of the country. For instance it does not mention the name of Hamvira, whom the inscriptions of the period describe in unmistakable terms as a son of Kapilendra, who fought all the battles of his father. But no inference can be drawn from this omission because it might be after all due to the fact that the author was interested in the direct genealogy of his patron



and not in his collaterals.

However, the importance of this work lies in the information that it supplies to us about the character of the monarch and the nature of the law administered in the country under Pratāparudra. As a "valuable treatise on Hindu law it is even to this day an authority along with the Mitākṣara in Orissa and South India in general."

**III. Gāṅgavamsānucarita:**— A copy of this work is available in the Oriental Manuscripts Library at Madras. It contains inter alia the descriptions of the dynasties that ruled over Kalinga from Cuttack, and of important centres of Pilgrimages. It was the work of an Oriya poet written in Sanskrit verse. The colophon of the work reads: "इति श्री राजमहर्षः पदवी प्रतिष्ठित वासुदेव रथशोभयाजि कृत गङ्गा वंशानुचरिते चरूपकाव्ये."

It is mainly a descriptive work on the glories of the Gāṅga rule. It contradicts the versions of earlier works, saying that Kapilendra got the throne by means of a conspiracy and that his was not a peaceful succession.

**IV. The Bhakti Bhāgavata Mahākāvya of Kavidindima Rājaguru Jivādēvacārya,** The Prasasti of this work supplies us with some



interesting information regarding the period of rule of the Gajapati monarchs. It is also a contemporary work and hence we can accept the statements of  $\frac{1}{2}$  Jivadēva.

Though there were some Oriya poets patronized by the Gajapati monarchs, - Jagannātha Dās, Balaram Dās, Dīnakṛṣṇa Dās and others, - curiously none of their works gives us any information about the history of the period. The exploits of the Great Gajapati monarchs were not sung by them.

The Gajapati monarchs, Kapilēndra and Puruṣōttama, do not appear to have given sufficient encouragement to Telugu literature or to Telugu Poets. On the other hand they positively discouraged Telugu in their zeal for Sanskrit learning and for Sanskrit scholars. This is well illustrated in the treatment meted out to Śrīnātha, the Poet laureat of the Reddis. This positive discouragement of Telugu Poets will, to a certain extent, explain the migration of many Telugu scholars to the court of Vijayanagara rulers.

But we are fortunate in having some of the subordinate rulers under these Gajapatis who patronized a few Telugu Poets. Their

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6. Kāsikhandam.



works, be they Telugu Prabandhas or Sanskrit Kavyas, throw some light on the social and political conditions of the times, and the mutual relations of the contemporary princes. Under this category we can mention the works of Dagguballi Duggana's Nāsikētopākhyānam, Duba-  
guntā Nārāyaṇa Kavi's Pancatantra <sup>and</sup> Prabodha Candrōdaya of Mandi Mallayya and Ghanta Singayya. All these poets were patronized by Basava Bhūpala and his minister Gaṅga Mantri of Udayagiri. This Basava was the son of Tammabhūpala of the Pūsapāti family who served Kapilēndra Dēva as a right hand man. These works invariably make Basava a strong supporter of Gajapati rule in that part of the country. Two Telugu works of unknown authorship and fragmentary in character - Usabhyudaya and Viṣṇubhakti Sudhākaram <sup>7</sup> supply us some interesting details about the conquest of Telugu speaking coastal districts of Madras Presidency by Kapilēndra. According to these works, Damera Timma and Pūsapāti Tammabhūpala to whom the work was probably dedicated, scored a number of victories for the Gajapati and they claim to be officers of Kapilēndra.

Contemporaries of the Gajapati sovereigns in Vijayanagara were Mallikārajuna, Virūpākṣa, Saluva Nṛsiṃha, Vīra Nṛsiṃha and

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7. Further Sources, II, p.66-67.



Kṛṣṇarāya and others. These were famous for their patronage of learning. Some of the poets who formerly lived at the court of Basava came to occupy a place of honour at the Vijayanagara court. Probably they had migrated to this place after Sālūva Nṛsimha had overrun the Udayagiri rajya and the adjoining territories in the years 1470-75 A.D. at the expense of the Gajapatis.

The court poets of Vijayanagara incidentally supply us a few details about the relations that existed between the two kingdoms. Taking them in chronological order, to the reign of Mallikārjuna belongs the work Gaṅgādāsaprataṇa vilāsaṁ of Gaṅgādhara. Though the material supplied by this work is disputed still it is an important source which throws some light on the dark period of Vijayanagar history. It refers to the attempts of Gajapati Kapilēndra on the capital of Vijayanagara Empire after the death of Dēvarāya II, and his overwhelming defeat at the hands of Mallikārjuna. The next series of works are connected with the reign of Sālūva Nṛsimha. They generally narrate the exploits of Īśvara Nāyaka and his son Narasa Nāyaka who had distinguished themselves as commanders of Sālūva Nṛsimha in expelling the Gajapatis from the south. Among them may be mentioned (1) Jaimini Bharataṁ of Pinavīrabhadra Kavi dedicated to Sālūva Nṛsimha, (2) Varāha-purāṇaṁ



Nandi Mallayya and Ghanta Singayya dedicated to Narasa Nayaka.

(3) Sāluvaābhyaṣayam of Rājanātha Dindīma is a historical piece describing the achievements of Sāluva Nṛsimha. In the fourth canto, the author mentions a campaign against Kalinga undertaken by Nṛsinha which was crowned with great success.

Many works belonging to the reign of Kr̥ṣṇarāya, Peddana's Manucarita, Nandi Tirumana's Parīkṣānāṭharaṇam and his own Amukta-mālyada all sing in unmistakable terms the victories of the Vijayanagara monarch and the losses of the Gajapati.

Thus Telugu literature from the Vijayanagara Court furnishes useful information for the history of Orissa during the period under review.

Another important source of information for the period is Velugōtivarī Varṣavali. This is a historical account of the Velugoti or Recerla family, which had played an important part in the history of the Deccan, from the fall of the Kākatiyas to the rise of the Gajapatis. They had their capitals at Dēvarakōṇḍa and Rācakōṇḍa. As a source of information for historical studies the work suffers from one defect. A single series of achievements are



attributed to more than one individual belonging to two different generations. As such it is difficult to fix exactly the time and exploits of these chiefs. The contemporary Velama chief of Kapilendra was Madaya Linga. He sought the Gajapati support when his fort was laid siege to by the Bahmani Sultan in 1458-59. Since then the Velamas continued as subordinates of Gajapati monarchs.

(b) Muslim Sources:— From the very beginning, the Gajapati power had to fight first for its existence and later for expansion against its rival, the Bahmani Sultans of Gulbarga. The Muslim chroniclers Ferishta, Sayed Ali, and Nizam-ud-Din-Ahmad, in their works on the history of the Bahmani rulers occasionally referred to incidents in the kingdom of Orissa. Among these Tarikh-I-Ferishta supplies us with a connected account of Orissa and their relations with the Bahmani Sultans. The account of Sayed Ali is mainly concerned with the history of Ahmadnagar, and in the introductory portions of his work, Burhan-I-Ma'asir, he refers to the kingdom of Orissa. Ferishta's account supplemented by the fragments of Sayed Ali enables us to form a picture of the conditions in Orissa as known to the Mussulmans.



II. Epigraphical: In the reconstruction of the history of any dynasty, its inscriptions help us a great deal. Generally inscriptions are found either engraved on stone or incised on copper plates. These inscriptions are ~~generally~~<sup>mostly</sup> the records of the benefactions of kings, of other high dignitaries of the state and of private individuals in favour of temples of Brāhmanas. They in the introductory portions of the grant trace the pedigrees of the donor and the donee and also refer to their achievements. As such they give us clues to the conquests of kings, boundaries of the kingdoms etc. They indirectly help us to visualise the picture of contemporary society. Thus inscriptions form the raw material of history, yet their importance should never be over-estimated for they sometimes contain exaggerated statements of facts.

Of the Gajapati monarchs very few copperplate grants have been discovered so far. To the reign of Kapilendra Deva belong the Kondavidu plates<sup>8</sup> of Ganadēva, the Velagalani plates<sup>9</sup> and the Chiruvolu inscription<sup>10</sup> of Hamvira Deva. These inscriptions supply us with the genealogy of the dynasty and some of the achievements of the founder of the Gajapati dynasty. Puruṣōttama Deva who

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8. I.A. Vol.XI, pp.390 ff.

9. A.No.16, M.E.R. of 1934-35.

10. Bharati, Nov. 1941, p.514 ff.





succeeded Kapilendra on the throne of Orissa, contrary to the previous custom, inaugurated the method of issuing grants incised on copper <sup>11</sup>axe-heads. But this system did not long survive him. His son Pratāparudra once again reverted to the old custom and issued charters on rectangular copper plates. To his reign belong the <sup>12</sup>Anantavaram, <sup>13</sup>Rājavolu, and <sup>14</sup>Volicherla plates. They give us some interesting facts about the king's patronage of literary men, his campaigns and his success over the Gauda ruler. Besides these copper plates we have a number of lythic records of the Gajapati monarchs at several places, Gopināthpur, Jagannātha Temple, Bhuvanēśvara temple, Srikūṛṇṇam, Simhachalam etc., which record gifts to the Gods in these places. The provenance of these inscriptions gives us clues to the rise and fall in the fortunes of the dynasty. Some of these inscriptions contain the Anka years of the monarchs. To know the significance of this Anka reckoning it is essential here to explain in brief some of the peculiarities of Oriya calendar.

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11. Ind. Ant. Vol.I, pp.355-56. J.B.O.R.S. Vol.IV, pp.361-63.  
12. Andhra Patrika Annual, 1928.  
13. Bharati. 1938, August, p.237 ff.  
14. Ibid. 1936, August.



Peculiarities of dating in Orissa:— Like the Tamils and the Bengalis the Oriya people also follow the solar reckoning; and solar months in India are generally named after the rāśis or signs of the Zodiac, "Mēsa" <sup>15</sup> "Rābhā" etc., and the same is the case in Orissa. But the one peculiar feature of Orissa Calendar is that the months are <sup>16</sup> Lunar although indicated by solar names.

The kings in Orissa followed in their documents a special method of date reckoning known as 'Anka' to denote their period of rule. This Anka Cakra (cycle of Anka years) consists of fifty nine luni-solar years. All the months end with Full-moon. The year begins with the 12th day of the month of Bhādrapada and that is counted as the 12th day of the year. The year changes on every 12th day of Bhādrapada.

It is difficult precisely to fix the date when this method of Anka reckoning was first started. That it was in use in the 12th century, the Gāṅga inscriptions bear testimony. The Gajapatis

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15. Swami Kannu Pillai: Indian Ephemeris, Vol.I, P.IV. "But in Tamil they are also known by another set of names more or less modified from names of Nakṣatras or Lunar months."

16. Beams: I.A. Vol.I. p.64.



not only borrowed their title but also accepted this kind of reckoning from their predecessors, the Eastern Gāṅgas. Under this system, in the calculation of the regnal years of their kings it is not customary to count the numbers 1, 6, and any number ending with zero (except ten). The Aṅka years never exceed fifty-nine. If a king dies in the midst of an Aṅka year, the second Aṅka or the first regnal year of his successor though it begins with the day of his accession it ends with the 12th day of Bhādrapada that follows instead of running the whole year.

<sup>17</sup>  
Calculation of Aṅka Years:— To convert the Aṅka year into the actual regnal year we have to deduct the 1st, 6th, 16th, 20th, 26th, 30th, 36th, 40th, 46th, 50th and the 56th, as the case may be from the given Aṅka year to get the actual regnal year. Suppose we have to calculate the actual regnal year for the 22nd Aṅka of any king, then we have to deduct from it the years 1, 6, 16, 20 i.e., 4 years and we get  $22 - 4 = 18$ th regnal year.

The Gajapati monarchs in dating their inscriptions do not seem to have followed any uniform system throughout their empire. The mode of dating of the inscriptions changed according to the locality. In the Telugu Districts they followed the Luni-solar calendar and the inscriptions supply both the Aṅka years as well as the Saka date and the lunar year, month and other details.

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17. Andhra Vihāna Sarvasvamu, p.46.



TABULATED STATEMENT OF EPIGRAPHICAL RECORDS.

| No.                         | Date as given<br>in the<br>records.                       | Equivalent<br>in<br>Xian era. | Reference.  | Remarks.  |
|-----------------------------|---|-------------------------------|---|---|
| <u>KAPILĒNDRA GAJAPATI.</u> |   |                               |   |   |
| 1.                          | 4th Āṅka, Dhanu,<br>Amavāsya, Sauri-<br>vāra.             | 9th December,<br>1436 A.D.    | Left side<br>No.III.<br>J.A.S.B.<br>Vol.LXII<br>1893,p.88ff.                  | Earliest<br>inscription<br>of<br>Kapilēndra.  |
| 2.                          | 4th Āṅka, Srāhi,<br>Mithuna, Kr.9,<br>Mangalavāra.        | 28th May,<br>1437.            | J.A.S.B.<br>Vol.LXII,<br>1893,<br>Bhuvanēs-<br>var No.2.                      |   |
| 3.                          | 18th Bicchi Su.3,<br>Budhavāra.                           |                               | No.1089,<br>S.I.I.<br>Vol.VI.   |   |
| 4.                          | 19th Āṅka, Mōṣa,<br>Amavāsya, Ravi-<br>vāra.              | 12th April,<br>1450.          | J.A.S.B.<br>Vol.LXII<br>1893,<br>Jagannātha<br>Temple,<br>Rightside<br>No.II. | The Mādala<br>Pāñji mentions<br>the conquest<br>of Mallika<br>country in the<br>21st Āṅka.<br>21st may be a<br>mistake for<br>19. |
| 5.                          | 22nd Āṅka, Simha<br>Sukla 3, Sōmavāra.                    | 6th August,<br>1453.          | 1155 S.I.I<br>Vol.VI.   | Date<br>irregular.  |
| 6.                          | Śaka 1373, Māgha 5,<br>Guruvāra, Kumbhastitē<br>Bhāskarē. |                               | 1198<br>S.I.I.<br>Vol.V.  |   |



| No. | Date as given<br>in the<br>records.                              | Equivalent<br>in<br>X'an era. | Reference.                                      | Remarks.                                  |
|-----|--|-------------------------------|---|---|
| 7.  | 24th Anka, Śrāhi<br>Mina Śukla 13,<br>Sōmavāra.                  |                               | 1006, S.I.I.<br>Vol. V.                         |   |
| 8.  | 24th Anka.   |                               | 988, S.I.I.<br>Vol. IV.                         |   |
| 9.  | Śaka 1376, Bhāva,<br>Vaiśākha, Su. 15,<br>Guruvāra.              |                               | 70 of<br>1917.                                  |   |
| 10. | 25th Tula Su. 10<br>Sōmavāra.                                    | 20th Octo-<br>ber 1455.       |   |   |
| 11. | Śaka 1377, Yuva,<br>Bhādrapada.                                  | 25th Aug.<br>1455.            | C.P. of Ganadeva<br>I.A. Vol. XX,<br>p. 390 ff. |   |
| 12. | 25th Anka, Śaka<br>1377, Bhādrapada,<br>su. 2, Sanivāra.         | 16th Aug.<br>1455.            | 1194, S.I.I.<br>Vol. V.                         | Both Anka and<br>Saka years<br>are given. |
| 13. | 28th Anka.   | 1456-57.                      | 1151, S.I.I.<br>VI.                             |   |
| 14. | Bahudhanya, Jyēṣṭha<br>Ba. 13 Sōmavāra.                          | 11th May<br>1458.             | 494 of<br>1893.                                 |   |
| 15. | Śaka 1380, Bahu-<br>dhanya, Vaiśākam.                            | 27th April<br>1458.           | A17 of 1932<br>36.                              |   |
| 16. | 32nd Anka, Śaka<br>1382, Vikrama,<br>Jyēṣṭha Ba. 5,<br>Sōmavāra. | 9th June,<br>1460.            | 1165, S.I.I.<br>Vol. V.                         |   |



| No. | Date as given<br>in the<br>records.             | Equivalent<br>in<br>X'an era. | Reference.  | Remarks.   |
|-----|---|-------------------------------|---|--|
| 17. | Pramādi, Māgha,<br>Su.3, Va.                    | 26, Jan.<br>1460.             | 733 S.I.I.<br>Vol.VII   |  |
| 18. | 32nd Āṅka, Makara<br>su.10 Thursday.            | 3rd Janua-<br>ry, 1460.       | 733 S.I.I.<br>Vol.VI.   |  |
| 19. | 33rd Āṅka, Kakkada<br>su.10, Guruvāra.          | 16th July,<br>1461.           | 1158, S.I.I.<br>Vol.VI.   |  |
| 20. | 33rd Āṅka<br>(S.13827)                          | 1460                          | 395 of 1932-<br>33.   |  |
| 21. | 33rd Āṅka, Mithu-<br>na Su.11, Ādivāra.         | 15th June<br>1460.            | 1150 S.I.I.<br>Vol.VI.  | Date irregular.  |
| 22. | 33rd Āṅka, Karkāta-<br>kam, Su.2, Monday.       | June,<br>1462.                | 1158 S.I.I.<br>Vol.VI.  |  |
| 23. | 35th Āṅka, Mēsa,<br>Kr.4, Budhavāra.            | 25th April<br>1464.           | J.A.S.B.<br>Vol.LXII 1893<br>Leftside No.5<br>Jagannātha<br>temple. |  |
| 24. | Śaka 1386,<br>Svabhānu.                         |                               | 87 of 1937-38.  | Refers to Dakṣiṇa-<br>Kapilēśvara's<br>gifts at Srirangam. |
| 25. | Śaka 1386, Tārana<br>Mithuna Su.3,<br>Guruvāra. | June<br>1464.                 | 51 and 92 of<br>1919.   |  |
| 26. | 38th Āṅka.                                      | 1465-66.                      | 1153 S.I.I.Vol.VI.  |  |
| 27. | Śaka 1387.                                      | 1465-66.                      | 308 of 1892.  |  |
| 28. | 41st Āṅka.<br>Dhanu, Amavāsya,<br>Sanivāra.     | 9th December<br>1466.         | J.A.S.B. Vol.LXII,<br>1893 p.88 ff.<br>Leftside No.3.               |  |



| No. | Date as given<br>in the<br>records. | Equivalent<br>in<br>X'an era. | Reference. | Remarks. |
|-----|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------|------------|----------|
|-----|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------|------------|----------|

PURUSOTTAMA GAJAPATI.

1. 2nd Anka Srahi  
Mina Su.2, Ravi-  
vārā. S.I.I. Vol.VI. No Saka year  
No.703. noted.
2. 2nd Anka, Mēsa, 12th April J.A.S.B. Vol.LXII,  
Su.12, Guruvārā. 1470 A.D. 1893, Jagannātha  
temple Right side  
No.1. ""
3. 3rd Anka, Marga- 20th Nov., Ibid, left side No.1. ""  
sīrṣha Kr.13, 1470. Mangalavārā.
4. 3rd Anka, 3 Srahi S.I.I. Vol.VI  
Mithuna & Su.13, No.1160. ""  
Sukravārānanu.
5. 7th Anka, Saka 1392, 26th Sept., Ibid, Vol.V,  
Āvīja Su.15, 1470. No.1247.
6. 7th Anka, Kanya Ibid, Vol.VI.  
Kr.13, Sōmavārā. No.895, last lines.
7. 7th Anka, Saka 1393, 20th June, Ibid, Vol.V,  
Āṣāḍha, Su.2, 1471. No.1153.  
Guruvārā.
8. 7th Anka, Srahi, Ibid, Vol.VI,  
Kakada di 5, Guru- No.895.  
vārānanu.
9. S.1393, Khara Samvat- 15th April Ibid, Vol.V,  
sara Caitra ba.10 1471. No.1248. Week day  
Ādivārāna. wrong.



| No. | Date as given<br>in the<br>records.  | Equivalent<br>in<br>X'an era.         | Reference.  | Remarks. |
|-----|--|---------------------------------------|---|----------|
| 10. | Saka 1394 Mandana<br>Samvatsara, Karti-<br>ka Su.13,<br>Budhavārananu.                 | Wednesday<br>14th Oct.,<br>1472 A.D.  | S.I.I. Vol.VI.<br>No.844.                                       |          |
| 11. | Saka 1394 Mandana<br>Kartika Su.13,<br>Budhavārananu.                                  | October,<br>1472.                     | Ibid, Vol.VI.<br>No.805.  |          |
| 12. | 12th Anka Kakada<br>2 Su. Ravivāre.  | 23rd June<br>1476,<br>Sunday.         | Ibid, Vol.VI.<br>No.1159.                                       |          |
| 13. | 19th Anka Simha<br>Sukla 8 Guruvāre.   | 22nd August<br>1482 A.D.              | J.A.S.B. Vol.LXII<br>1893 Jagannātha temple<br>Right side No.4. |          |
| 14. | S.1406, Krōdhi,<br>Karkātaka Su.15,<br>Lunar Eclipse.                                  | 4th October<br>1484.                  | M.E.R. 1935-36<br>App.B. 226.                                   |          |
| 15. | Samvatsarambulu<br>1407 nēnti Visvayasu<br>Samvatsara Margasira<br>Bahula 3, Guruvāre. | Thursday<br>24th<br>November<br>1485. | S.I.I. Vol.IV.<br>No.659.                                       |          |
| 16. | 25(?) Mēsa Dī 10<br>Somavāre.  | 6th March<br>1486.                    | I.A. Vol.I,<br>p.355.   |          |
| 17. | 28th Anka, Mithuna<br>2 Su.3, Ravivāre.  |                                       | S.I.I. Vol.VI.<br>No.908.                                       |          |
| 18. | Saka 1411 Kīlaka,<br>Bhādrapada, Su.5<br>Sukravārananu.                                | 9th Sept.,<br>1489<br>(Wrong).        | Mac.Mss. p.260<br>15-5-37.                                      |          |





| No. | Date as given<br>in the<br>records.  | Equivalent<br>in<br>X'an era. | Reference.   | Remarks.   |
|-----|--|-------------------------------|--|--|
| 19. | Saka 1411  | 1489 A.D.                     | M.E.R.1900 p.II<br>p.24, <sup>para</sup> 65<br>(Ganti Plates). |  |
| 20. | Saka 1412 Saumya,<br>Kārtika Sū.15,<br>Krttikayōgam.                           | 8th Nov.,<br>1489.            | E.Indo Vol.XIII,<br>No.12.                                     | Saka date is<br>1411 and not<br>1412 for the<br>cyclic year<br>Saumya. |
| 21. | 31st Anka, Srāhi<br>Simha Sū.8, Sani-<br>vārē.                                 |                               | S.I.I. Vol.VI.<br>No.1163.                                     |  |
| 22. | 34th Anka.   |                               | Ibid, Vol.IV.<br>No.1362.                                      |  |
| 23. | 35th Anka, Biccha<br>Sankrānti Sū.1<br>Guruvārē.                               |                               | Ibid, Vol.V.<br>No.1152.                                       |  |
| 24. | 37th Anka, Saka 1417<br>Rākṣasa Samvatsara<br>Kārtika Sū.13,<br>Mandavārūnanu. | October<br>31st<br>1495.      | Ibid, Vol.V.<br>No.1229.                                       |  |
| 25. | Saka 1418 Nala,<br>Vaiśākha Sū.11.   | 23 April,<br>1496.            | 469 of 1916.   |  |
| 26. | 38th Anka, Mēsa,<br>sū.1, Somavare.  |                               | S.I.I. Vol.VI.<br>No.1162.                                     |  |



| No.                           | Date as given<br>in the<br>records.                         | Equivalent<br>in<br>X'an era. | Reference.   | Remarks.   |
|-------------------------------|---|-------------------------------|--|--|
| <u>PRATĀPARUDRA GAJAPATI.</u> |   |                               |  |  |
| 1.                            | Saka 1422, Raudra,<br>Kārttika, Lunar<br>eclipse.           | Nov. 5,<br>1500 A.D.          | 802 of 1922.   |  |
| 2.                            | Saka 1422, Raudra<br>Kārttika, Guru-<br>varam.              | October<br>1501.              | Anantavaram plates<br><u>Andhra Patrika</u><br><u>Annual</u> 1928. | Mentions<br>the king to<br>be proceeding<br>on a campaign. |
| 3.                            | 8th Aṅka, Mīna<br>Kr.2, Sanivara.                           | March<br>1501.                | 1164 S.I.I.<br>Vol.VI.   |  |
| 4.                            | Saka 1423, Dar-<br>mati, Vaiśakha.                          | March-April<br>1501.          | Rājavolu Plates<br><u>Bherati</u> , August<br>1938.                |  |
| 5.                            | Saka 1425, Rudhi-<br>rōdgari, Kārttika<br>Su.15, Sukravāra. | Nov.4,<br>1503.               | 1228 S.I.I. V.   | Week day wrong.<br>Saturday and<br>not Friday.             |
| 6.                            | 12th Aṅka. Karka-<br>ta(?) 5 Sukra-<br>vāra.                | 10th July<br>1506.            | 208 D. of<br>1899.   |  |
| 7.                            | 15th Aṅka ...   | 1509                          | 208 E. of<br>1899.   |  |
| 8.                            | Saka 1431 Sukla<br>Mārgasīra Su.7,<br>Somavāra.             | 18th Nov.<br>1509.            | 375 of<br>1926.  |  |
| 9.                            | Saka 1432,<br>Pramōda                                       | 1510 A.D.                     | 377 of 1905.   |  |



| No. | Date as given<br>in the<br>records.                                      | Equivalent<br>in<br>X'an era. | Reference.                         | Remarks.  |
|-----|--|-------------------------------|------------------------------------|---|
| 10. | 19th Añka, Makara<br>Kr.13, Sōmavāra.                                    | 27th Jan.<br>1511.            | C.P. No.22 of<br>Nol. Ins.         |   |
| 11. | S.1432, Pramōda,<br>Kārttika Sukla<br>Tritiya, Bhārga-<br>vāsyacavāsarō. | October<br>4, 1511.           | Bharati, August<br>1936, p.271 ff. | Refers to<br>Pratāparudra's<br>success over<br>the Ganda<br>Sultan. |
| 12. | 33rd Añka, Mēsa<br>Su.5, Sōmavāra.                                       | March<br>1523(?)              | 1119 S.I.I.<br>Vol.V.              |   |
| 13. | 34th Añka, Simha,<br>Su.15, Guruvāra.                                    | 4 August,<br>1524.            | 1149 S.I.I.<br>Vol.VI.             |   |
| 14. | 41st Añka, Mēsa<br>Su.5, Sanivāra.                                       | 31st March,<br>1537.          | 1161 S.I.I.<br>Vol.V.              |   |
| 15. | Saka 1448, Pār-<br>thiva.  | January -<br>March<br>1526.   | 47 A of 1909.                      |   |





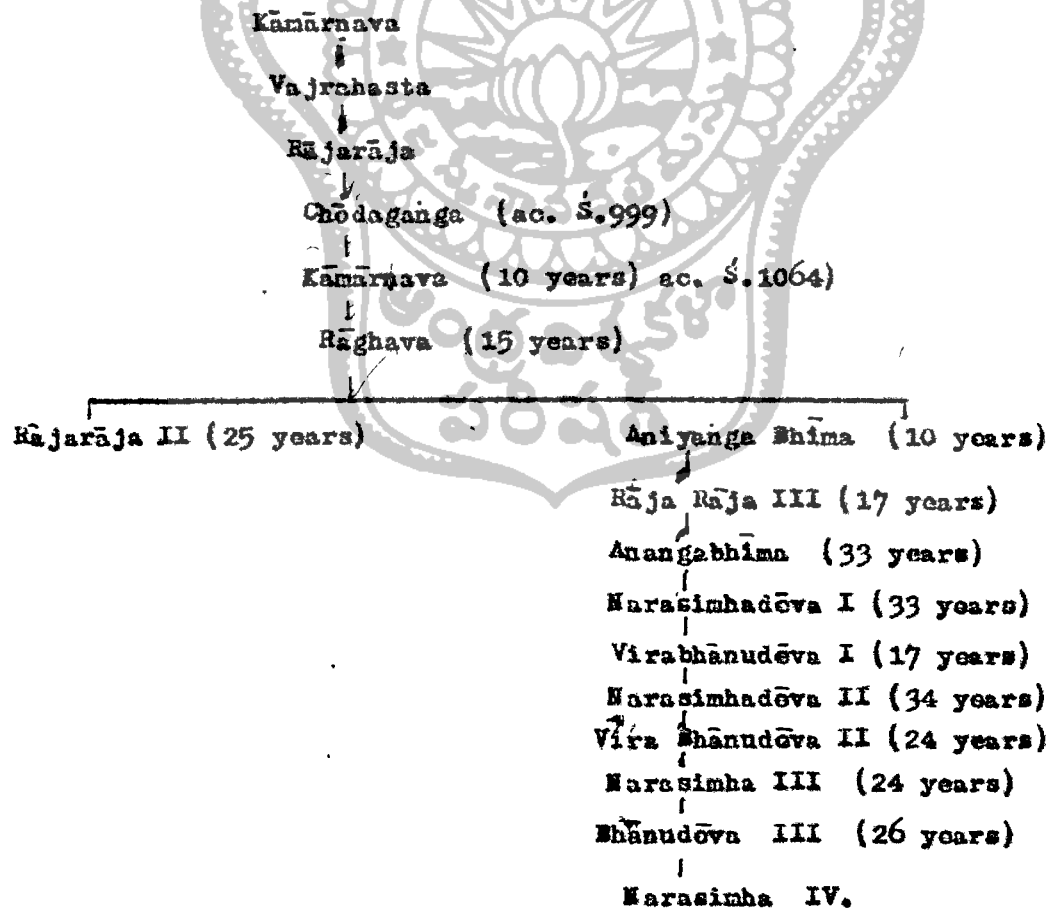
INDIA in the 14th century witnessed the fall of big empires and on their ruins the rise of small independent principalities. The great Empire of Muhammad bin Tughlaq was dismembered, partly because of his own 'ferocious tyranny' and partly because of the weakness of his successors. He was destined to see in his own life time the signs of the coming deluge. Bengal revolted in 1398 and the Deccan in 1347. Firuz, his successor, had some success in Bengal but failed to recover the province and its independence was recognised in December 1356 A.D. The death of Firuz and the invasions of Timur destroyed the central authority and facilitated the establishment of independent principalities in Sindh, ~~Gujat~~, Khandesh, Gujrat and Malwa. The history of the Deccan ran almost on parallel lines. The first quarter of the 14th century witnessed the collapse of all Hindu kingdoms - the Yādavās, the Kākatīyās, the Pāndyas, and the Hōyasālās - and the Sultāns of Delhi became practically the ma<sup>st</sup>ers of their lands. But soon reaction set in. Revolts broke out in several places in the time of Mahammad Bin Tughlaq. The authority of the Delhi Sultān was overthrown and in the territories of former Hindu Kings numerous independent principalities were founded - the Bahmani



Sultāns of Gulbarga, the Velama chiefs of Rācakonda, the Reddi rulers of Kondavidu, and the Rāyās of Vijayanagara, one fighting with the other for the domination of the eastern coast.

A similar fate of disruption overtook the Empire of Kalinga ruled by the Gāṅga Vamsī princes. This Eastern Gāṅga dynasty<sup>1</sup>

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1. The Pūri plates of Narasimha IV (J.A.S.B.Vol.LXIV, Part I, No.2 pp.128-154), supply us the geneology of the Later Gāṅgas.



ruled Kalinga for about a thousand years and they were strong enough to maintain their independence and integrity of their Empire throughout. But in the 14th century the Later Eastern Ganga rulers became weak and the Empire showed signs of decline.

The fall of the dynasty ~~actually~~ began actually with the accession of Bhānudeva II (1306-1328) son of Narasimha II. His reign was marked by the invasions of Muslim rulers. Ulugh Khan (Prince Juna) having captured Warangal invaded Jaj Nagar. Marani<sup>2</sup> writes "The name of Arangal was changed to Sultanpur and all the country of Tilang was conquered. .... The prince then marched towards Jaj Nagar and there took forty elephants with which he returned to Tilang". About this time complaints came from Lakhnauti against its cruel ruler; so Sultan Ghiyas-ud-din summoned Ulugh Khan from Warangal, made him Viceregent and himself marched against Lakhnauti. Nasiruddin, the ruler of Lakhnauti, met him and paid homage.

Narasimhadēva III (1328-1352 A.D.) son of Bhānudeva succeeded to the throne and had an uneventful reign of twenty four years. His son Bhānudeva III (1352-3 - 1378 A.D.) ascended the throne and ruled over Kalinga for nearly twenty six years. With his reign

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2. Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi. Trans. Elliot and Dowson His. of Ind. Vol.III p.233-34.



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-29-

the decline becomes marked. The Kingdom fell a prey to foreign invasions and internal troubles. Many subordinate chiefs openly declared their independence and began to extend their authority by annexing neighbouring districts. Among them may be mentioned the Matsya chiefs of Oddādi, the Silāvaśis of Nandapur and the Cālukya chiefs who styled themselves Viśṇvardhana Cakravartins.

The pressure from the neighbouring newly formed kingdoms - Vijayanagara, Bahmani and Reddi - increased. Prōlayavē<sup>3</sup>, the first important Reddi Ruler, is said to have defeated the Gajapati. Kampanā's son Sangama II is found ruling over Nellore and east coast<sup>4</sup> in A.D. 1356. He was the nephew of the Vijayanagara Emperor Bukka I. In 1375 A.D. he is said to have led a raid into Kalinga defeated the Gajapati king Bhanu II. Nuniz writes "Bucarao inherited the kingdom, and he conquered many lands .....; he took the kingdom of Orya, which is very great; it touches on Bengalla."<sup>5</sup>

Sultān Firūz Tughlaq (1351-88) of Delhi after his campaign against Bengal determined to proceed against Jaj Nagar. Leaving

3. J.O.R. Vol.IV, pp.69 ff.

4. Bitragunta grant of Sangama II dated May 31, 1386 A.D.  
V.R.<sup>II</sup> Nellore, 273, 274.

5. For. Emp. p.300.



Rs  
254.22  
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his baggage at Kara, he proceeded by forced marches through Behar and reached Jajnagar. Barani writes "the Sultan rested at Banarasi, an ancient residence of the arrogant Kais ..... the Cowardly Rai of Jajnagar, when he heard of the approach of the Sultan's army, embarked on board a ship in great alarm and took refuge on the water." During his stay there the Sultan, appears to have desecrated the palace idol of Jagannātha and carried it away to Delhi. The Rai sent his 'Patras' to sue for peace. He gave 'twenty mighty elephants as an offering, and agreed to furnish certain elephants yearly in payment of revenue. The Sultān then ..... returned home."<sup>6</sup>

Bhānudeva III died in 1378. His son Harasimha IV (1378-1414 A.D.) succeeded him to the throne. During the reigns of Harasimha IV and his son Bhānudeva IV (1414-1434 A.D.) the empire was completely dismembered and their authority was almost confined to the capital Cuttack and the adjoining districts. This was the result of the aggression of the neighbouring states. At this stage a brief note about the neighbouring kingdoms, how they hastened the fall of the Ganga Dynasty and paved the way for the rise of Kapilendra Gajapati may not be out of place.

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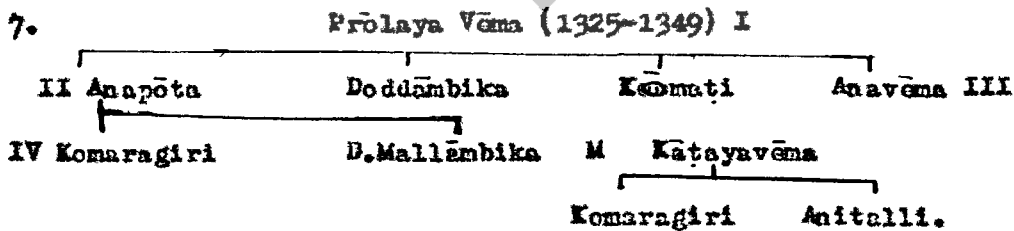
6. Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi, Elliot: Hist. of Ind. III, pp.312 ff.



The Reddi Kingdom of Rājamundry:— Its encroachments on the territory of Orissa:— These Reddi chiefs hailed from Addanki in

Nellore district, and they claimed affiliation with Pantakula. The territory over which they ruled, though very limited in extent, gained much importance owing to its strategic position. It comprised ~~of~~ the region between the Gundlakamma and the Gōdāvari.<sup>8</sup> The seat of their government was at Kondavidu. The Rāyās of Vijayanagara, the Bahmani Sultāns of Gulbarga and the Eastern Gāngas of Cuttack, coveted the possession of the fertile regions of Kṛṣṇa - Gōdāvari Delta and that was why "the Krishna-Godavari delta became the battle ground of South India during the 15th and 16th centuries."<sup>9</sup>

Prōlaya Vēma the first important ruler of this dynasty ruled over Kondavidu Rājya which extended right upto the banks of



8. M.E.R. Ap.A. 5 of 1919-20.

9. J.O.R. Vol.VIII, p.149.



the Gōdāvari. He is said to have waged a war with the Gajapati of Cuttack. His son Anapōta succeeded him in 1356 A.D. Immediately after his accession there were revolts against his authority in the Gōdāvari Delta headed by the Cōda Chief, Bhakti Rāja of Mummadiprōlavaram. Anapōta tried to check these rebels but was defeated in the battle of Sūravaram.<sup>10</sup> The result of this defeat was, the rise of Bhaktirāja to prominence, and loss of the Gōdāvari Delta though temporarily, to the kingdom of Anapota.

The Bahmani Sultans as well as the Rayas of Vijayanagar were ever anxious to get a slice of the Reddi territory. The disturbance in the kingdom of Anapōta gave a chance for the Bahmani Sultān Alauddin to attack the Reddi kingdom. He attacked Dharanikōta,<sup>11</sup> a Reddi stronghold in 1361 but was driven away by Kātaya Vēma the Commander of Anapōta's troops.

In addition to these two big powers, the Reddi rulers had their enemies in the Velama chiefs by Dōvarakonda. The contemporary Velama chief Singaya Māda attacked Dharanikōta<sup>12</sup> and inflicted a defeat on Anapōta but he too failed to capture the fort due to the prowess of the Commander of the fort, namely Kātaya Vēma.

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10. M.E.R. Ap.A.8 of 1911-12. J.A.H.R.S. pp.173-189 Rājamundry plates of Annadeva Coda. p.152.

11. Burhan-i-Masir. I.A. XXVIII. 258 of 1897.

12. Volugōtivarī Vamsācārītra. p.51.



Subsequent to these attacks by Moslems and Velemas, Anapōta got some respite and he succeeded in recovering back Gōdāvari delta<sup>13</sup> from his enemies.

Anapōta was succeeded by his brother Anavēma a very powerful king. He had put down with a strong hand all revolts and destroyed 'Rājamahendravarāma, Miravadyapura and other Sthaladūrgas'.<sup>14</sup> Though himself strong, he found it expedient to enlist the support of the rebellious Cōda chief Bhaktirāja, who was a constant source of trouble to the kingdom, by means of marriage alliance. He gave his daughter in marriage<sup>15</sup> to Bhīma one of the sons of Bhaktirāja.

Anavēma died and was succeeded by his nephew Komaragiri. He was weak and incompetent and the neighbouring Vijayanagara ruler annexed much of the Reddi territory in the South. Komaragiri entrusted the administration of the Rājahmundry province to his brother-in-law Kātaya Vēma and his advent marks an epoch in the history of Rājahmundry. After consolidating his position at Rājahmundry by bringing all recalcitrant chiefs under his control, he contemplated the conquest of the north.

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13. Uppugallu grant of Anavēma.

14. 20 of 1915.

15. Kommāna: Śivalilāvilāsa.



The conditions in the kingdom of Orissa, gave him a good opportunity. Taking advantage of the weakness of the Ruler, Bhānudeva III, several chiefs declared their independence and Orissa became a happy hunting ground for ambitious adventurers. Kātaya Vēna invaded Orissa and captured several important forts including 'Bendapūdi, Vajrakūṭa Rāmagiri and Viraghatta'.<sup>16</sup>

The only son of Kumaragiri predeceased his father and Peda Kōmatī Vēna one of his distant cousins became the heir to the throne but Kātaya Vēna, his brother-in-law and ruler of Rājamahendrarājya, who had done so much for the kingdom was against his succession. Kumaragiri to avoid trouble divided the kingdom between Kātaya Vēna and Peda Kōmatī Vēna. Kondavidu with its dependencies he allotted to Peda Kōmatī Vēna while Kātaya Vēna got Rājahmundry region and the newly conquered portion of the Oriya territory.

Komaragiri died in 1403 and Peda Kōmatī Vēna and Kātaya Vēna assumed independent charge of their respective dominions. Neither the death of Komaragiri nor the division of the kingdom could put an end to the rivalry between Peda Kōmatī Vēna and Kātaya Vēna.

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16. Kātaya Vēna: Commentary on Kalidāsa's Śākuntala.



The rivalry between these two branches of the Reddis gave many opportunities for the Bahmani Sultān and Vijayanagara King Dēvarāya I to increase their influence in the coastal Telugu districts.

To fight against Kātaya Vēna of Rājahmundry Peda Kōmativēna sought the assistance of the Bahmani Sultān, Firūz Shah. He gladly offered him help for that gave him a chance to expand into Telingana. <sup>17</sup> Annadēva <sup>18</sup> Gōda, son and successor of Bhaktirāja, also made common cause with Peda Kōmativēna against Kātaya Vēna.

Kātaya Vēna had no other option than to appeal to Dēvarāya I of Vijayanagara for help. Vijayanagara rulers, who had occupied the southern portions of the Reddi Kingdom as early as Anapōta's reign, did not lose this opportunity for further expansion. He offered his full support. In addition to this there were matrimonial connections <sup>19</sup> between the two ruling families. The rivalry between the two Reddi houses divided South India into two warring camps. Rājahmundry, supported by the Velamas and Vijayanagar, and

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17. Velugōtivarī Vēnāvali.

18. J.A.H.R.S.I. p.173-189.

19. Epi. Ind. XIII. p.237-250 - Vēnavaram grant of Allaya Vēna Reddi 11.21

"Paum(pau)trim Kātaya Vēnaya - Kṣitipatēh Putrīm cMa Kata-Prabhōr.dauhitrīm Caturārṇavām Harihara-KṣKōṇipatēh Sasituh! tan-nāmma Vidit-āhvayām Hariharāmbām cMārum - agraḥayat - pānau Vēna-mahisān Alla-nripatis - sāmrajya-lakṣṇmā saman." -

Vorse 21.



Kondavidu, assisted by the Gōda chiefs and Bahmani Sultān, began to fight with each other.

The struggle commenced immediately after the visit of Kātaya Vēma to Ahōbalam in 1410 A.D. probably to secure the help of Dēvarāya I. <sup>20</sup> Vijayanagara armies moved north and by 1411 A.D. occupied the territory as far as Rāpatla. <sup>21</sup> Since they were on terms of enmity with Peda Kōmati Vēma, the Velama chiefs of Rācakonda, made common cause with Kātaya Vēma, attacked Iharanikota and killed Māca, <sup>22</sup> the Commander of that fort and a brother of Peda Kōmati Vēma. But the timely arrival of Muslim armies to support Peda Kōmati Vēma, saved the situation. The Velama attack was repulsed.

In the Gōdāvari Delta, Annadēva Gōda headed a revolt against Kātaya Vēma and the latter finding it impossible to check the rebels single-handed appealed to Dēvarāya I to despatch armies. Vijayanagar armies marched into the Gōdāvari Delta to help Kātaya Vēma.

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20. M.E.R. 84 of 1915.

21. *Ibid.* 798 of 1922.

22. Velugōtivarī Vamasevālī - Vēdagiri the contemporary Velama chief it appears killed Māca and made a spittoon out of his skull. This irritated Peda Kōmati Vēma so much that he immediately marched against Velama chiefs and avenged the insult in the same manner.



Firūz Shah Bahmani, who promised help, sent armies towards Rājahmundry to support Annadēva Cōda and at the same time to divert the attention of Dōvarāya I he attacked the fortress of Pāngal.

In the battles of Attili and Kāṅkaraparti, according to the Rājahmundry museum plates<sup>23</sup> of Annadēva Cōda, the Vijayanagar forces were completely defeated and Kātaya Vēma appears to have lost his life in one of these battles.

<sup>24</sup> Komaragiri, son of Kātaya Vēma, succeeded to the throne, but he too died after a short rule, leaving behind his only sister, Anitalli, helpless. Allāda a supporter of Kātaya Vēma and descendant of Prōlaya Vēma the founder of the Reddi Kingdom of Kondavīdu went to the rescue of Anitalli. Allāda was a great warrior and statesman. He successfully brought under his control the rebellious chiefs of the Godāvari Delta. <sup>25</sup> Annadēva Cōda was crushed and probably lost his life in action. In this task Allāda was greatly helped by his sons <sup>26</sup> Vēma, Virabhadra and Doddā.

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23. J.A.H.S., I. pp. 173-189.

24. A.S.P.P. II, pp. 99-112. M.E.R. 467 of 1893.

25. Śrīnātha - Chingaveṇṇa Purāṇam.

26. Kommana - Śivalīlā Vilāsam.





During these troubled conditions, Narasimha IV, the Eastern Gāṅga king from the north and Pedakōmati Vēma from the south attacked Rājahmundry. Narasimha IV tried to recover the forts formerly conquered by Kātaya Vēma. But he was completely defeated by Allāda who then assumed the title 'Gajapati dala Viśhāla'<sup>27</sup> (i.e., who broke up the Gajapati battalions). A treaty was concluded by which the boundaries between the two kingdoms were delimited and ever since that time the Eastern Gāṅga king remained a friend of Allāda.

Allāda's services to the Reddi Kingdom of Rājahmundry are aptly described in the Kaluvacēru grant of Anitalli. He is said to have 'raised with ease like Viṣṇu (Varāha) the earth which was submerged in waters, viz., the wicked chiefs who turned traitors to their master.'<sup>28</sup> To safe-guard his position in the state and to have all power in his own hands he performed the marriage of his own son Virabhadra with Anitalli, daughter of Kātaya Vēma and the sole heiress to the kingdom. Through the good offices of his minister, Bendapūdi Annaya, he secured the friendship of Ahmad Shāh Bahmani of Gulbarga, and continued the friendly relations with Vijayanagara. At the time of his death in 1423 he left a wealthy kingdom extending upto Vajraghata, and Oddādi in the north, and friendly neighbours around.

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27. *Ibid.*

28. A.S.P.P. II, pp.93-112.



King Virabhadra of Rajahmundry and Bhānudeva IV:— Allāda died in 1423 A.D. and Virabhadra succeeded him as the ruler of Rajahmundry. He tried to extend his frontiers further north at the expense of Orissa. No detailed account of his campaigns <sup>has</sup> come down to us except the list of places mentioned by Śrinātha<sup>29</sup> in his works. He subjugated the local chiefs round about Simhachalam bringing under his sway 'Saptanādes, Jidikōṭa, Lōṭugadda, Srīnganakōṭa, Kancukam, Kasinkōṭa, Venkatāyī, Kappokonda, Palakonda, Pottanvū, Oddādi<sup>30</sup> etc.' The exact date of their conquest is not known. But an inscription<sup>31</sup> dated July 1434 A.D. from Simhachalam records the conquest of 'Potnūru, Oddādi and Kaluvalapalli' in that year. Since these places have appeared in the list given by Śrinātha, it may not be improbable they were taken in the same campaign.

Bhānudeva IV, inspite of his weakness, tried to check the advance of the Reddis. He marched to the south with his forces. The results of this campaign are not known. While he was away fighting the Reddis a revolution took place at his own capital which resulted in the overthrow of the Gaṅga dynasty.

29. Kāsikhandaṁ.

30. Ibid.

31. 1168. S.I.I. Vol.VI, C.S.1356 Ānanda Śrāvāṇa Ś.14.

“అల్లవీరిపదమంద్రః ప్రకరస్థమవాత్మరం  
దేవభవపవ విప్రభవః కాశీగం ప్రభుజన్మితం.”



Orissa and Vijayanagara Rulers:----- Subsequent to the destruction of the Hoysala power by the Muslims, Harihara and Bukka began slowly to grow in power. In the building up of the new kingdom all the five brothers took interest and this is borne out by an inscription<sup>32</sup> which records the joint donation of these five brothers. They were very quick in building up their kingdom and early in 1346 A.D. we find Kampana I ruling over Udayagiri Rajya<sup>33</sup> comprising modern Nellore and Cuddapah districts; His son Sangama II was kept in charge of the Paka-Vijaya and had his capital at Vikramasimhapura. Probably it was this ambitious prince, who was kept in charge of the eastern portions of Vijayanagara empire, <sup>who</sup> ~~that~~ led a raid into Orissa against Bhanudeva III which credited Bukka I with the conquest of the kingdom of Orissa.<sup>35</sup> Harihara II son of Bukka succeeded to the kingdom 1298-9 (1377-78 A.D.) and he was the first to assume imperial titles.<sup>36</sup> The kingdom in his time seems to have reached the utmost limits.

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32. Ep. Car. Vol.VI. Sq.No.1.

33. Gangadevi. 'Kampana Charitra' 'Sources' p.23 describes in detail Kampana's conquests and this indicate how the whole of the South was brought under Vijayanagara.

34. Kol. Ins. p.789. No.28 dated Saka 1268 Vyaya, Kartika Su.7, Bhanuvare.

35. For. Empire p.300.

36. Ep.Ind. Vol.IV p.24.



In the process of their expansion to the north the Vijayanagara rulers came into conflict with the Bahmani Sultāns of Gulburga. The Raichur Doab formed the bone of contention between the two powers. Besides this they always coveted the possession of the tracts which were then ruled by the Reddi rulers.

We have seen that Vijayanagara rulers had brought under their control, Bellare and Cuddapah districts and established their head - quarters at Udayagiri ousting the Reddis from these lands. The crown prince, Dēvarāya I, was Harihara's viceroy at Udayagiri Rājya<sup>37</sup> in S.1304 (1382 A.D.).

The weakness of the Reddi ruler Komaragiri, and the differences between Kātaya Vēma and Pedakōmatī Vēma afforded a good opportunity to Vijayanagara rulers to extend further north along the east coast. During the reign of Komaragiri, the southern districts of the Reddi<sup>38</sup> kingdom were annexed to Vijayanagara Empire owing to the incompetence of the rulers. These losses in the south were made good by Kātaya Vēma, the king's brother-in-law, who conquered a considerable

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37. Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1905-06, p.50 and I.A. Vol.XXVIII p.91.

38. In the very <sup>heart</sup> hand of the Reddi kingdom we find inscriptions V.R.II, Gunt. III-B, mentioning Devarāja I son of Harihara as ruler. This indicates clearly, the expansion of Vijayanagara into Telingana.



portion of Orissa kingdom and established himself at Rājahmundry.

Komaragiri died in 1403 A.D. and according to the division effected by him Kātaya Vēma took independent charge of the administration of Rājahmundry and its dependencies while Pedakōmatī Vēma ruled over Kondavīdu. In spite of the division of the kingdom, their enmity continued.

This rivalry gave an opportunity to the Bahmani Sultāns and Vijayanagara rulers for the extension of their authority in the coastal districts. Vijayanagara supported the cause of Rājahmundry Branch while Firūz Shah Bahmani offered his assistance to Pedakōmatī Vēma.

Several wars were fought in the Gōdāvari delta where Vijayanagara armies sustained defeats at the hands of Annadeva Gōda and his ally Bahmani Sultān. Kātaya Vēma lost his life and his daughter Anitalli was left helpless. Allāda, a minister of Kātaya Vēma, came to the rescue of Anitalli and under his guidance once again the power and prosperity of the Rājahmundry kingdom was restored.<sup>39</sup>

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39. E.I. XIII, p.21.



The Vēṃavaram grant of his son Vēṃareddi, dated S.1356, (1434A.D)<sup>40</sup> refers to a peace concluded by Allāḍa, his father, with the Gajapati (K. Gāṅga king Bhānudeva IV) and Karnāṭa king (i.e., Vijayanagara ruler) who invaded the kingdom of Rājahmundry.

This invasion of the 'Gajapati' and 'Karnāṭa' rulers should be dated sometime between 1416 and 1427 A.D.<sup>41</sup> The contemporary Gajapati ruler was Nissanka Bhanu or Bhānudeva IV, who came to the throne in 1414-15 A.D. Vijayanagara during these years was practically ruled by Dēvarāya I (who was the ally of Kāṭaya Vēṃa) and by his grandson Dēvarāya II. Dēvarāya I died in 1422 and Dēvarāya II ruled upto 1446. The Karnāṭa king who invaded Rājahmundry Rājya might have been Dēvarāya II.

Vijayanagara, subsequent to the death of Pedakōmatī Vēṃa annexed much of the Kondavidu territory and made <sup>The</sup> Kṛṣṇā its northern boundary.<sup>42</sup> Kathāri Sāluva Telungaraya was ruling portions of Guntur

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40. Ibid. "విశ్రేష్టత్యక్తసహాగముం గజపతిం కర్ణాట భూపతిం"

41. In 1416, after the death of Kāṭaya Vēṃa at the hands of Annadēva Cōḍa, Allāḍa took up the cause of Anitalli and the first inscription of his son Vēṃa mentioning him as ruler of Rājahmundry is dated 1428 A.D., and hence we have to presume that Allāḍa ruled over the destiny of Rājahmundry kingdom between 1416-1427 A.D.

42. 228 V.R.II, Guntur; Nol.In. p.Nos.26 and 39. 476 of 1915, 752 of 1922, 473 of 1915.



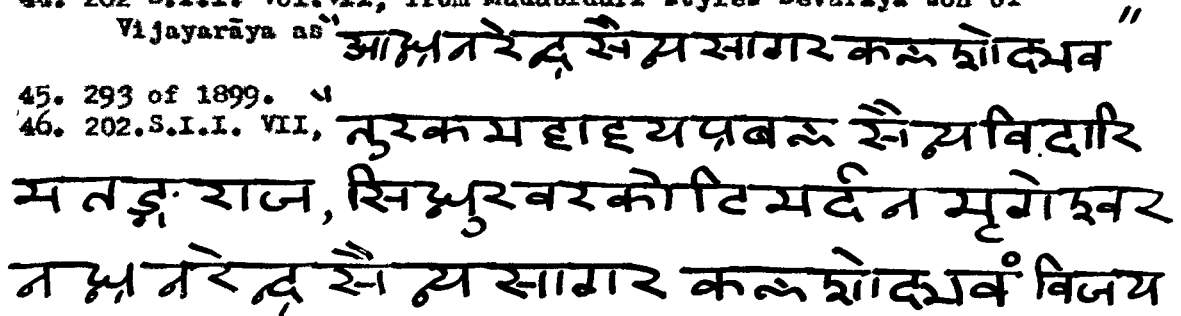
district as a vassal of Dēvarāya II. To take advantage of the confusion in the Gōdāvari region, the Gajapati king Bhanudēva<sup>43</sup> attacked Allāda and raided all his territory. Dēvarāya II who was then in possession of the whole territory upto<sup>44</sup> Kṛṣṇā, also attacked Rājahmundry, but soon realising the danger from the Gajapati Bhanudēva of Orissa, must have attacked him and driven him upto Sinhachalam where we find an inscription<sup>45</sup> dated S.1350 (1428 A.D.) mentioning the Vijayanagara general Telugirāya. This war with the Eastern Gāṅga king and the success of Vijayanagara is hinted in an inscription<sup>46</sup> dated S.1352 (1430 A.D.) at Mudubidure in South Kanara district.

Thus Vijayanagara ruler Dēvarāya II put an end to the desire of Bhanudēva to recover the southern provinces. Since then Rājahmundry rulers became a sort of subordinate allies to Vijayanagara. Vāma and Vērabhadra sons of Allāda, since they had the support of Vijayanagara rulers, carried their arms successfully into the heart

43. Gaṅgavamsānucarita. Kalinga Sanchika. p.343. Kaifiyat of Konda-vidu.

44. 202 S.I.I. Vol.VII, from Mudubiduri styles Dēvarāya son of Vijayarāya as

45. 293 of 1899. 4

46. 202.S.I.I. VII,  " : See also DR. N. Venkata-

Namamāyā : Dēvarāya II and the Gajapati Bhanudēva in P. 9-H-C. (Centras) PP295ff.



of Kalāṅga and their frontier, almost reached the shores of the Chilka lake. The Vijayanagara kings themselves by defeating the rulers of Orissa, and by supporting Rājahmundry virtually contributed to the decline of the Orissa kingdom.

In addition to these, the Sultāns of Gulburga and even of Malwa carried on predatory raids into Orissa. Sultān Firūz Mahmūd, raided Orissa<sup>47</sup> in 1412 A.D. and Nizām-ud-Dīn Ahmad<sup>48</sup> gives an elaborate description of the raid undertaken by Sultān Hushang Shāh of Mālwa. In the year 825 A.H. (1421 A.D.) Sultān Hushang accompanied by one thousand select horsemen, disguised as merchants, advanced towards Jājnagar carrying with him some good horses, for which he wanted to bring elephants in exchange. He encamped outside the city and invited the Rāya to purchase his commodities. When the Rāya arrived he took him captive by surprise. Seizing the 'Raya as a hostage' he demanded and got seventy five elephants. After crossing the borders he let the Rāya of Orissa go back.

2k. All these clearly prove that the old Eastern Gāṅga Dynasty had become weak and ineffective. The country badly needed a military leader who could bring back under control all the refractory chiefs who had declared their independence, and save the country from foreign attacks. Such a leader soon arose in the person of Kapilēndra Deva.

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47. Tabaqat-i-Nasiri Eng. Trans. P 592 note.

48. Tabqat-I-Akbari, Eng. Trans. p.476-7.







CHAPTER III.

Kapilendra - The Empire Builder.



EARLY LIFE.

We have scant information about the early career of Kapilēndra<sup>1</sup> Dēva, the founder of the Gajapati dynasty that ruled over Orissa, and parts of Madras Presidency for more than a century. Neither his<sup>2</sup> inscriptions nor the literature of the period give us any clue to his parentage. His inscriptions as well as those of his sons and grandson and the Sarasvativilāsa of Pratāparudra, give us a genealogy<sup>3</sup> of the dynasty as follows; but these do not say anything about his parents.

Sun  
Raghu  
Daśaratha  
Rāma  
Kūśa

In this family of Raghu was born Kapilēndra.

1. All the Oriya inscriptions call him Kapilēndra but some of the copper plate grants refer to Kapilēśvara. In the following pages the name Kapilēndra alone is followed.
2. See Supra. Pp. 176 ff.
3. Konḍavidu plates of Gaṇadēva. I.A. Vol. XX, p. 390 ff.  
Gōpināthpur inscription of Gōpināthamahāpātra, minister of Kapilēndra. J.A.S.B. LXIX 1900, p. 175 ff. "मखदुं शावतंसः  
कपिलेन्द्राभिधानो नरेन्द्रः"  
Chiruvōlu plates of Hamivira. Bharati, Nov. 1941, pp. 514 ff.  
Anantavaram plates of Pratāparudra. Andhra Patrika Annual, 1928. Sarasvativilāsa."

प्रतापरुद्रस्य कुलाग्रगण्यः  
प्रतापमानुः प्रथमो गहाणां ।



|             |            |             |
|-------------|------------|-------------|
| Kapilendra  | m          | Parvati     |
| Purusottama | m          | Rupambika   |
| Pratapardra | m          | Padmavaty   |
| Virabhadra  | Ramacandra | Purusottama |

Some interesting details of his early life are preserved in the Mādala Pāṇī.<sup>4</sup> According to that authority 'Kapila' was a man of "low birth",<sup>5</sup> and while a boy, he was picked by Bhānudeva (Kajjala Bhānu or Matṭa Bhānu)<sup>6</sup> near the Vimala Temple, and was brought up in the royal palace as the King's son. Kapila or Kapilendra succeeded Bhānudeva IV, after his death.

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4. Kalingadēśa Caritra, p.646.

5. According to the Jagannātha Kalīyāṭ he was a thief in the beginning (Mac.Mus. 15-6-48). For details see 'Further Sources' Vol.II, p.85 ff.

6. This Matṭabhānu was the last of the Gāṅga rulers, and was childless. He prayed Lord Jagannātha to bless him with a son so that he could perpetuate his dynasty. Jagannātha then appeared before him in a dream and said that he would find his successor near the Vimala Temple the next day. The next day the king went to the temple and there finding Kapila, brought him home and adopted him. This Kapila succeeded Bhānudeva IV after his death. (Mādala Pāṇī. See Kalingadēśa Caritra, p.646). The Gopināthpur inscription of Kapilendra (J.A.S.B. Vol.LXIX Part I, 1900, p.171 ff.) seems to lend support to this story. Therein Kapilendra is said to have become ruler of Orissa by the 'adēśa' or Order of God Jagannātha.



This same story is preserved in the Katakaraṇjavamsāvalī and in the Kaṭṭivāt of Jagannāthan but with slight differences. The boy whom Bhānudeva found at the temple of Vimala-Pārvati was given the name Kapila Sāmaṇta Rāo. During the last days of Bhānudeva's rule, the Mughals invaded the country and demanded a large ransom. The king paid a portion and for the remainder left his 'son' Kapila Sāmanta-Rāo as a hostage. The king died soon after. The Mughals then released Kapila Sāmanta and sent him to rule this country.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>8</sup> The Gaṅgavamsānucarita, though it does not mention anything about the birth and early life of Kapilendra, describes the manner in which he rose to power. According to that work Kapilendra was a minister of Bhānudeva and when the king was away from the capital, on a campaign, he usurped the throne. Bhānudeva retired to Gudarī Kataka and spent his last days in obscurity.<sup>9</sup>

7. Further Sources, II, p.83-84.

8. Kalingadēśa Caritra, p.344.

9. Ibid.

కృత్వా రాజ్యమకంపితం కల సమాం కంఠూం భుజాదంశయోః  
హస్తం నిర్వహి హస్తా దిశ్శయం కృతే మశ్చార దోర్బాత్రమే।  
శూన్యాయ స్మృత నిర్వేద సుఖతం సారాభదానకృతా  
హస్తానాం కపి తంద్రుదేవమనయం భూపం వృధుత్కంఠ్రుగి।  
కృత్వా తం కపితంద్ర మాత్మవిషయే పింశ సనాన్యాసిం  
మాతానామపి మంఠ్రుణాం ముఖహానానాన్తా ర్శాఖామల్య  
తం దిక్ష్యేత్తేన నాన్తేనాత్మస్మృతే మహార్ష వర్ణిష్టయావే  
రాజాద్ధిప్రథమం సుకారి కపితే వానాయ చక్రమన్తే।



Bhānudeva IV, <sup>10</sup>last of the Gāngas came to the throne about 1415 A.D. and must have ruled upto 1434-35 A.D. So the 'Mughals' referred to in the Katakaraṇjavamsāvali should be some Muslim neighbours who invaded Orissa during his reign and they have nothing to do with the Mughal Dynasty of Delhi. On the other hand the reference appears to be to the invasion by some neighbouring Muslim power. So far no corroborative evidence for this campaign has been forthcoming from among the accounts of the Muslim chroniclers. No doubt Nizām-ud-Din <sup>11</sup>Ahmed refers to an invasion of Jājnagar by Sultān Hushang Shāh of Mālwa, in 1421 A.D. But this could not have been 'during the last days of Bhānudeva's rule.' If the testimony of Katakaraṇjavamsāvali is to be accepted, we will have to presume that about 1434 A.D. there was some other Muslim invasion of Orissa either from the side of Mālwa or Bengāl, for which there is no support in the extant chronicles.

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10. Last known date of Bhānudeva IV according to his inscriptions No. 784 S.I.I. Vol. VI, is S. 1352 (1430 A.D.). Nothing is known about him from inscriptions subsequent to this date. He must have ruled Orissa atleast upto 1434-35. According to Gaṅgavamsānu-carita, his throne was usurped by Kapilēndra, his minister, when the king was fighting in the south, and inscriptions show 1434-35 A.D. (S. 1356) as the first year of Kapilēndra.

11. The Tabqat-I-Akbari, Eng. Trans. p. 476 ff.



A somewhat more reliable account appears to be that found in the Gāṅgavaiṣṇucarita which states that Kapilendra usurped the throne when Bhanudēva was absent on a distant campaign.<sup>12</sup> Gāṅga-  
vaiṣṇucarita which alludes to this last campaign of Bhanudēva does not mention the enemy against whom it was directed. The existence of two inscriptions at Simhachalam dated S.1356 (1434 A.D) recording gifts by Vēma and Virabhadra of Rājahmundry enable us to presume that there was a Reddi invasion against Kalinga in 1434 A.D. and probably to ward off this Reddi attack Bhanudēva might have come down to the South.<sup>13</sup>

During the King's absence in the south, intrigue was at work in the capital to overthrow the dynasty. Kapila Sāmanta usurped the throne, probably with the support of the discontented officers. In this task he was assisted by "Mahāpātra Kakai Santara, Mahāpātra Jalasarasēna Warēndra, Mahāpātra Gopinātha, Mahāpātra Kāśi Vidyādhara, Bālēśvara Praharāja, Mahāpātra Lakṣmana Purōhita, Patnaik Dāmōdara the generalissimo.<sup>14</sup> Of the officers named in the above inscriptions, Kāśi Vidyādhara and Jalasarasēna Warēndra are mentioned in the Mādala Pañji to have been the associates of Kapilendra in his youth.

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12. Gāṅgavaiṣṇucarita. Kalingadēsa Caritra, p.344-54;  
J.A.H.R.S. Vol.II, parts III and IV p.252.  
13. See SUPRA, Intro. p.39  
14. J.A.S.B. LXII, 1893, p.88 ff.



It is reasonable to infer that these officers supported Kapilendra either before his usurpation or after that.

The date of his accession:— Shānudeva's last known date from inscriptions is <sup>15</sup> S.1352 or 1430 A.D. But he seems to have lived longer and his reign actually ended with the usurpation of the throne by Kapilendra. The latter's first regnal year can be calculated with the help of his Anka years given in his inscriptions.

| No. | Anka.      | Saka date. | A.D.         | Reference.   |
|-----|------------|------------|--------------|--|
| 1.  | 4th Anka.  |            | 1436-37 A.D. | Left side Ins.No.3. Jagannātha temple, J.A.S.B. Vol.LXII, 1893 pp.92-93.   |
| 2.  | 19th Anka. |            | 1449 A.D.    | Right side Ins.No.1 at Bhuvanēśvara temple, J.A.S.B. Vol.LXII, 1893, p.99. |
| 3.  | 25th Anka. | Ś.1377.    | 1455 A.D.    | 313 of 1895-6.   |
| 4.  | 37th Anka. | Ś.1386.    | 1464-65 A.D. | Nos.51 and 92 of 1919.   |

Śaka 1386 was his 37th Anka year or 30th actual regnal year. His first year should be then Ś.1386 - 30 = Ś.1356 or 1434-35 A.D.

15. No.784, S.I.I. Vol.VI.



Madala Pañji gives some details regarding the date of Kapilendra's coronation. According to that he was crowned at Bhuvanēśvara on "2 Kākara <sup>16</sup> Śu.4, Aṅka 2." This date works correctly with Wednesday 29 June 1435 A.D. Mr. G. Ramadas says that in Oriya calendar (Pañji) the expired years of Kapilēśvara's era are given every year. 498 years of Kapilendra's era are said to have expired in A.D.1933. So the first of that era should be  $1933-498 = 1435$  <sup>17</sup> A.D. This era was started at the time of his coronation. So Kapilendra might have been crowned on 29th June 1435 A.D.

Kapilendra soon realised that he had a hard task ahead. His authority was actually limited to the capital city. In the south the Roddi rulers of Rājahmundry too were extending their frontiers farther north. From the north the country was threatened by the Sultan of Bengal and even distant Malwa tried to take advantage of the revolution in Orissa. Even in Orissa he was not left unchallenged. Some of the local chiefs refusing to acknowledge Kapilendra as their overlord began to act as independent sovereigns.) One of his earliest inscriptions dated in his 4th Aṅka (1436 A.D.) records his exhortations as follows. "All the kings in my Orissa kingdom should work for the good of the (paramount sovereign) should keep virtuous ways, should not remain in bad ways. If they act boldly towards the sovereign they will be expelled from the kingdom

16. J.A.S.B. Vol.LXIX, No.2, 1900, footnote on page 181.

17. J.B.R.S. Vol.XXI, part III, p.174 (1945).





18  
and all their property confiscated." From this we can infer that there was some revolt against his authority. Since the inscription is so generally addressed, it is difficult to find out 'the kings that had acted boldly against him'. Yet it is reasonable to suppose that the revolt was headed by some of the supporters of the old dynasty. Among these could be counted 'Vignuvardhanacakravartins', who ruled over parts of Orissa as subordinates of the Eastern Gāngas. They claimed descent from the 'Eastern Calukyas' of Vēngi and were allied matrimonially with the Eastern Gānga rulers. 19 They might have challenged the

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18. Bhuvanēśvar. Ins. Right side No. II, J.A.S.B. LXII, 1893, p. 88 ff.  
19. Jācalladevi wife of Bhānudeva I and Hirādevi wife of Bhānudeva III were both Calukyan princesses. These chiefs had their capitals at Yellamanchili and Panchadhara. Some of these chiefs had their headquarters at Panchadhara. Many of their inscriptions are discovered near about that place. No. 209 of 1899 dated S. 1339 Hēvilambi hailing from Panchadhara mentions the grant of the queen of Visnuvardhana Cakravartin Nāgēndradēva Cakravarti for the fulfilment of her desires. No. 213 of 1899 supplies us with the genealogy of one of these chiefs.

Visnuvardhana Sarvalokāśraya

Calukya Bhima

from him

Ervalamāpali M. Singamamba

Simhansikha.

215 of 1899 dated S. 1354 *Panchikāvi* records gifts by Kumāra Erramayya, son of Nāgēndradēva Cakravarti and Bhavanidēvamma of Lunar race. 219 of 1899 dated S. 1354, *Pingala*, refer to Visnuvardhana Mahārāja Narasimhadēva Cakravarti, son Upēndradēva Cakravarti. (The date of this inscription is wrong. The Saka year does not agree with the cyclic year. *Pingala* agrees with S. 1359 and not 1356.)



authority of Kapilendra with a view to restore Nṛmanudēva IV on the throne of Cuttack.

There is very little information about the achievements of Kapilendra in the early years of his accession. The Katakeraṅga-vamsāvalī refers to his visit to the Ganges for a holy bath early in his reign.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>21</sup>  
The Gopināthpur inscription gives a long list of places and kings that were conquered by Kapilendra. His first campaign was against the rulers of Bengal; the contemporary Sultan of Bengal was Shamsuddin Abul Mujahid Ahmad Shah (1430-46), son of Jalaluddin. He was a peevish, oppressive and blood-thirsty ruler. He tried to raid Orissa but was beaten back by Gopinātha Mahāpatra, a minister of Kapilendra.<sup>22</sup>

In the Gopināthpur inscription we find a new title 'Nṛmaravara Nṛpati' (ruler of Nṛmaravara country) assumed by Kapilendra. M.M. Chakravarti who edited that inscription is silent regarding its origin.

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20. Further Sources II, p.85.

21. J.A.S.B. Vol.LXIX, part I, No.2, 1900. This is undated. The late M.M. Chakravarty has assigned it to 1464-65 A.D.

22. J.A.S.B. Vol.LXIX, 1900, p.175 ff. "गौडेन्द्रस्य नितान्त

मुक्तपथप्रस्थानरोधार्थम् ।"



Kapilendra must have assumed that title after conquering that country. Bhramaravadra (vara?) and Bhramarakuta find mention in epigraphs of<sup>23</sup> the Mahakosala chiefs of the 12th century A.D. The name appears to have survived in that of the modern town of Umarkot in the Central Provinces. Kapilendra or one of his generals (probably Gopinatha) must have conquered these regions sometime about 1440-41 when he is said to have marched to the west for the conquest of these countries.<sup>24</sup>

Securing the Northern and Western frontiers, Kapilendra, then turned to south. Early in 1441-42 A.D. (10th Anka) he subdued 'Kimidi' which lay to the south-west of Cuttack. Then he began systematic conquest of all those chiefs, Silavamsis of Mandapur, Matyas of Oddadi, 'Visnuvardhana Gjakravartins' of Pancadharla etc., who had declared their independence during the last years of Bhanudeva. The subjugation of these chiefs must have been an accomplished fact by S.1365 (1443 A.D.),<sup>25</sup> when his authority was recognised atleast as far south as Korukonda.

23. Descriptive Lists of Inscriptions in C.P. Barar by Hiralal, Nos.1245 and 207, and also see J.A.S.B. Vol.LXIX, part I, 1900 p.184.

24. Katakara Jayasavali and Jagannatham Kalivati. Further Sources II, p.86 ff.

25. Elliotts Collection, Vol.I, p.177. Korukonda Inscription dated S.1365. In Ushabhyudayam there is a verse which refers to the victories of Tammabhupala, a commander of Kapilendra's forces.

“ఒని సంచాపుర వైల సన్నిధి గ జేంద్రావతముం గూర్చి.”

At Mandapura hill he defeated three chieftains and robbed them of their wealth and cities.



in Vizagapatam District.

Thus by 1443 A.D. Kapilēndradēva became master of the territory extending from the Ganges in the north to Vizagapatam in the south.

KAPILĒNDRA AND THE REDDIS OF RAJAHMUNDRY.

Before ~~the~~ taking up the story of Kapilēndra's further expansion to the south, it is essential to give in brief the history of neighbouring kingdoms and the conditions that favoured his expansion.

To the south of the kingdom of Orissa lay the kingdom of the Reddis. It has already been noted that before the rise of Kapilēndra in Orissa, Vēma and Vīrabhadra succeeded in extending their influence as far as Simhāchalam and its neighbourhood in the north. Their enmity with the Bahmani Sultāns and the Velama chiefs of Dēvarakonda, not only prevented them from taking advantage of the confusion caused by the usurpation of the throne by Kapilēndra in Orissa, but also threatened their very existence.

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26. See Supra. PP 3 & 66.



To the west of the kingdom of the Reddis lay the small principality of the Velama chiefs which included Dēvarakonda, Rācakonda and Warangal. These chiefs exercised considerable influence, in Telingāna. As allies of Vijayanagara they fought against Konḍaviḍu but subsequent to the latter's fall, they seem to have changed their attitude. The contemporary Velama chief was Mādaya Linga. He was very powerful and the Velugōtivarivamsāvali, the only source of information, credits him with a number of victories. He is said to have led a campaign into the Gōdāvari Delta, against the Reddi rulers of Rājahmundry. Vēma and Virabhadra who <sup>came</sup> to oppose <sup>him</sup> them, were defeated in the battles of Vēmlakonda and Māmidāla. He advanced upon Rājahmundry and plundered it. <sup>27</sup>

The Reddi rulers of Rājahmundry bowed before the oncoming Velamas but soon regained their position with the help of the Vijayanagara king Dēvarāya II. Virabhadra's last known date from inscriptions is 1437. <sup>28</sup> Since then the Rājahmundry kingdom remained under

27. " గంగసామీగ మాపి కదిసి రాజమహేంద్ర  
వరము చూడలు నది వచ్చినాడు  
వరభద్రుని దొడ్డిచు వసువుపముల  
రప్పకై కాలంబె పెట్టినాడు."

Velugōtivarivamsāvali.

p.48-52, verse 126. Dr.N. Venkataramanaiah assigned the campaign of Linga to the year 1426-27 A.D. basing his conclusion on the verse written by Srinātha at the Court of Rācakonda, when he had gone to bring the Sword of Pedakōmaṭi Vēma, which refers to these campaigns. (Velugōtivarī Vamsāvali, Introduction p.34).

28. 424 of 1893: 426 of 1893.



the political influence of the Vijayanagara rulers though Virabhadra  
29  
was normally acknowledged as sovereign.

The kingdom of Rājahmundry subsequent to 1437 was no more invincible. Its power was shattered by the Velama invasions and a semblance of Reddi authority was maintained by the forces of Vijayanagara rulers.

The Bahmani Sultāns were two busy in their expansion to the East to realise immediately the implications of Kapilendra's rise. Between the kingdom of the Reddis and that of Gulbarga lay the small principality of the Velamas. They were very influential in those parts and were known as the 'Nayas of Telingana'. From the time of Muhammad Shah I they maintained friendly relations with the Court of Gulbarga. This friendship came to an end during the reign of  
30  
Firūz, whom they had deserted in his battle against Vijayanagara

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29. There is an inscription (442 of 1893) at Dākṣaśrama dated Ś.1966 recording the gifts of Mallappa Odeya minister of Dēvarāya II. Below that inscription we find the names of Virabhadra as the donee of some grants. This portion of the epigraph was not copied by the Epigraphic Department.
30. In the Wars between Pedakōṃaṭi Vēma of Koṇḍavidu and Kāṭaya Vēma of Rājahmundry, Sultān Firūz proffering help to Pedakōṃaṭi Vēma, marched against Kāṭaya Vēma, (Burhan-I-Ma'asir, I.A.XXVIII, p.187) and the Velamas who were on terms of amity with the Koṇḍavidu Reddis invaded Dharanikōṭa, but as Sultān Firūz was as ally of Koṇḍavidu he was compelled to change his attitude towards Velamas and probably this change of attitude drove the Velama Chiefs into the fold of Vijayanagara and since then the Velamas were friendly with Vijayanagara.



king Dēvarāya I. Ahmad Shāh who succeeded Īrūz on the throne of Gulbarga wanted to punish the Velama chiefs for they sided Vijayanagara king Dēvarāya II against himself in the war of 1425 A.D. So with the object of chastising the Rāya of Warangal for joining the Rāya of Vijayanagara, he "marched into his country with the intention of conquering Telingana." <sup>31</sup> On his arrival at Golkonda he sent an army in advance under Khān Azim while he halted behind with the main army for 27 days. Khān Azim, with his small force defeated the enemy and killed the Rāya, with seven thousand other Hindus and obtained possession of Warangal. Sultān Ahmad Shah then marched into Warangal, took possession of the treasures and sent Khān Azim to reduce the whole of Telingana, which he effected in four months and returned to join the Sultān at Warangal. The latter left behind Khān Azim, to bring under subjection the remaining forts and returned to Gulbarga.

While Sultān Ahmad was busy with his wars against Malwā, Mādya Līnga rose in revolt and if the account of Velugōtivarī Vamāvali can be relied upon, invaded Rājamundry and ravaged the country as far as Simhādri.

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31. Briggs-Ferishta, II, p.406.

Syēd Ali gives a slightly different version of this incident. He refers to the conquest of Dēvarakonda and Bācakonda but is silent about the death of the Rāya of Warangal in battle.  
Burhan-I-Ma'nsir, I.A. XXVIII, p.210.



This success of the Velamas was only short lived. Ahmad Shah once again attacked the Velamas after concluding a treaty with Sultān Hushang of Mālwa, in 837 A.H. (1433 A.D.). "Not long after this," writes Ferishta, "the king marched into Telingana to quell an insur-<sup>Hindoo</sup>rection of some powerful chiefs whom in a short time he reduced to<sup>32</sup>obedience." Some of the Chiefs like Singa III of Rācakonda apprehending defeat submitted without fighting and they were allowed to remain in possession of their territories. "Rāngir" one of the strongholds of these Velamas fell in to the hands of these Musalmans. The Sultān then returned to Bidar leaving Ibrahim Sanjar Khān<sup>33</sup> to conquer the country and conciliate the people. The latter conquered more territory and by 1435 A.D. almost the whole of Telingāna went under Muslim authority. Sultān Ahmad, before his death divided his kingdom among his sons to avoid trouble. According to the division effected by him, Telingāna went to the share of Princes Mahmud Khān and Dāud Khān; Māhur, Rāmagiri and Kallum together with a portion of Berar fell to the lot of Muhammad Khān, Rāyachal with its dependencies

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32. Briggs, Vol.II, p.416.

33. Durhan-L-Masir, I.A. Vol.XXVIII, p.216





to Daud.<sup>34</sup> Sultan Ahmad Shah died in 1435 (A.H.838) and was succeeded by his son Alauddin II in the same year.

Thus the situation in Deccan at the time Kapilendra rose to power was as follows. The Reddi kingdom was devoid of all strength; Vijayanagara was supreme and its authority was unchallenged as far north as Simhadri along the coast. Bahmani Sultans in spite of their wars with their Muslim neighbours, subdued portions of Telingana except Devarakonda under Velama chief Linga, and were fighting with Vijayanagara for the domination of the coast. While those two major powers were fighting with each other, Kapilendra joined issue.

Kapilendra's conquests:— After securing the western and northern frontiers, Kapilendra turned to the south to deal with the Reddi rulers of Rajahmundry. However, by 1443 A.D. he subdued and brought under his control the region as far as Korukonda<sup>35</sup> in Vizagapatnam district.

34. Considerable amount of uncertainty prevails regarding the situation of the estates granted to Prince Daud Khan. Sayyid Ali mentions Raichur and Cival without giving their exact location. Ferishta (Briggs II, 412 and 442) asserts that Raichur was assigned. This cannot be the Raichur of Kṛṣṇa Tungabhadra delta. Sayyid Ali, in another connection, referring to the generous treatment given by Alauddin to his brother Mahmud, says, "Alauddin conferred on Mahmud Khan on feudal tenure the districts of Rayachol in Tulingana" as that fief had just then fallen vacant by the death of his brother Prince Daud. (Briggs, II, 423).

35. Elliot's collection, Vol. I, p. 177.



Then he appears to have made an attempt on the capital of the Reddis.

Vīrabhadra, as has been shown already, was the nominal Reddi ruler of Rājahmundry kingdom and all power was in the hands of Vijayanagara. We find an inscription<sup>36</sup> of Mallappa Odeyar, the Vijayanagara<sup>gana</sup> general at Dākṣaṛām within that kingdom dated 1444 A.D. It records the donations by Vīrabhadra and also by Mallappa Odeyar. It seems from this that Vijayanagara ruler sent his general Mallappa Odeyar to check the advance of the Gajapati monarch.<sup>37</sup> Whether their armies came into conflict with each other, or not, we have no definite information. But we have reason to believe that a battle was fought and the Gajapati ruler sustained a defeat. While describing a simultaneous attack upon Vijayanagara by the armies of Gajapati

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36. 442 of 1893.

37. According to Abur Razzak (India in the fifteenth century, p.33), there was an attack on the life of Dēvarāya II in 1442-43 and in the same year Sultān Alāuddīn II learning that there was an attempt on the life of Dēvarāya II 'demanded seven lakhs of Varahas' as he thought the moment auspicious to crush the Vijayanagara kingdom. "Mourai king of Bidjanagar was equally troubled and irritated by the receipt of such message, but he sent a brave answer and made all preparations for war." But Ferishta (Briggs II p.432) says that it was an unprovoked attack by Dēvarāya II. Disturbances at the Vijayanagara Capital, the war between Vijayanagara and Bahmanis gave Kapilendra a good opportunity to crush the power of the Reddis. In spite of all his troubles Dēvarāya II had sent forces to Rājahmundry area to fight the Gajapatis.



and Hayapati, Gaṅgādhara in his drama Gaṅgādāsaprataṅgavilāsaṁ<sup>38</sup> says that they who were defeated before ( पूर्व पराभूताभ्याम् ) had come there to wipe off former disgraces. If this statement is correct this 'former defeat' of the Gajapati which Gaṅgādhara refers to in his works, might have been sustained by the Gajapati Kapilendra about 1444 (S.1366) in the Rājahmundry region at the hands of Mallappa Odeyar.

The causes of Kapilendra's failure, inspite of his great preparations are not far to seek. He could not concentrate his powers in the south against the Reddis, for Orissa was threatened with an invasion from the north just at the same time. Nizamuddin Ahmad writes that Sultan Mahmūd Shāh Sharqi of Jaunpur advanced into the country of Orissa with the object of Jihad and there plundered several temples.<sup>39</sup> Ferishta also refers to this invasion and assigns it to A.D.1444 (848 A.H.).<sup>40</sup> Kapilendra had to hurry back to ward off the Jaunpur invasion and so his armies might have sustained defeat at the hands of Mallappa Odeyar.

As soon as the danger from Jaunpur had passed, Kapilendra was once again on the march to the south. Dēvarāya II died in 1446 and the Reddis of Rājahmundry were left unsupported. Mallikārjunarāya,

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38. Sources, p.65.

39. Tabaqat-I-Akbari, p.458.

40. Briggs IV, p.315.



the successor of Devarāya II on the throne of Vijayanagara was weak and the troubles at the capital prevented him from sending any support to the Reddis of Rājahmundry. Kapilēndra's armies under his son<sup>41</sup> Hamvira easily defeated the Reddis and brought under his sway the Rājahmundry kingdom before 1448 A.D. In the subjugation of these Reddi rulers some of the Velama chiefs seem to have supported the Oriya monarch. A Cātū Verse<sup>42</sup> credits Gajarāvu Tippa, a Velama chief, with a victory over the Reddi forces at Gundukolanu. Then the armies under Hamvira marched against Khambhammettu (modern Khammamet) and there Gajarāvu Tippa won approbation of his master Hamvira, by defeating the Yavanas. The Yavanas referred to in the Cātū verse should be some officers of the Bahmani Sultān. At this time Sanjar Khān an officer of the Bahmani Sultān Alā-ud-dīn II, was actually engaged in suppressing the revolt of the Hindu chiefs of Telingāna.<sup>43</sup>

41. Ponugonda Inscription dated S.1370. Mac.Mss. 15-4-4

Katakārāya Varasāvali. (Further Sources, II, p.84) also refers to this incident but assigns it to the 19th Āṅka 16th roṅgal year of Kapilēndra.

42. No.72. Further Sources, p.86.

43x " కాపయ వసు భూకాంక్షు పైన్దంబెలు  
నాప్పడేయలగుండు కాలిన్ద్రు  
దప్పడేన గురూర్వ ఖిప్తులునుండు "

43. I.A. Vol.XXVIII p.237- Burhan-I-Ma'asir.



He was so reckless in his operations that Alā-ud-din II had to warn him not to meddle with the "possessors of elephants" evidently the Gajapati. Probably this warning fell on deaf ears and his hostile conduct landed him into actual conflict with Hamvira the Gajapati prince, in which Tippa distinguished himself. Thus by 1443 A.D. Kpailendra conquered the whole of Rajahmundry Rājya including Khammamet and appointed Raghudevānarēndra Mahāpātra as Governor over that region.

#### OPERATIONS AGAINST VIJAYANAGARA.

(Devarāya II died in May 1446 and Mallikārajuna ascended the throne in 1447 and ruled upto 1465 A.D. Immediately after his accession, Gangādhara says that the capital was besieged by the

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44. Further Sources, 72. p.86. "యవనుల నెఱ్ఱింపఁ జేసెనాయలయలుచూడ నెఱ్ఱిన కంబము వెలయు బయలు"

45. No.1008, S.I.I. Vol.V.

46. Sources, p.65. It cannot be a combined attack of both Rayapati and Gajapati for we have no evidence to show that those two were on terms of friendship. On the contrary the available evidence all goes to prove that they had strained relations. The warning of Alāuddin to Saggar Khan (I.A., XXVIII, p.237) and the claim of Gajarāvu Tippa (Further Sources II, p.86) for victories over 'Yavanas' or 'Turuskas' all prove that there were frequent skirmishes between the two.)



armies of Hayapati and Gajapati to wipe off former disgraces.  
 Kapilendra we have seen suffered a defeat at the hands of Mallappa  
 Odeyar near Rajahmundry in 1444 A.D. and the death of Devārāya II  
 and accession of Mallikārjuna gave an opportunity for Kapilendra  
 to try his strength again, against Vijayanagara.) (He seem to have  
 sent forces under his son Hamvira to attack Vijayanagara.) The  
 Anantavaram plates of Pratāparudra, the grandson of Kapilendra,  
 record that Hamvira attacked the capital of Vijayanagara kingdom and  
 after defeating its ruler exacted tribute. <sup>47</sup> (Gangadhara on the  
 otherhand claims victory for Mallikārjunarāya who sallied forth from  
 his capital like the cub of a lion from his den and routed the armies  
 of the besiegers after completely defeating them in battle.) <sup>48</sup> We  
 cannot say anything definitely about the result of this campaign as  
 both sides claim victory. (It looks as though the Gajapati prince  
 scored a victory over the armies of Vijayanagara in open battle but  
 when he laid siege to the capital of Vijayanagara, he met with utter  
 failure and had to retire.)

47. And. Pat. Annual, 1928. Anantavaram plates.

ప్రతాపరుద్రాచార్యులచే వ్రాసిన  
 విజయనగరముపై దండయాత్ర  
 సమయమున వ్రాసిన  
 సమాచారము కర్ణాటకమున.

48. Sources p.66.



( It is definitely known that the region to the south of the Kṛṣṇā was under the authority of the Vijayanagara rulers till 1453 A.D.) This is borne out by the inscription<sup>49</sup> of Mallikārjuna Rāya at Mārutūru. (The region in the neighbourhood of Māpatla was under the rule of Kathāri Sāluva Tippayadēva Mahārāya in 1449 A.D.,<sup>50</sup> and that p round about Konidena in Narasaraopet Taluq of Guntur district was administered by Mudivemula chiefs Tippareddi and Parvata<sup>51</sup> Reddi, in 1452 and 53 A.D.) The inscriptions which mention these chiefs do not at all refer to any overlords. Mallikārjuna Rāya's control over these chiefs is doubtful. They appear to be acting independently. (However, the authority of Vijayanagara ruler was acknowledged as far north as Mārutūru, in the Guntur district in 1453 A.D.)<sup>52</sup> The earliest known record of the Gajapati monarchs in this region is of 12th April 1454 A.D. This inscription records the grant by Gāṇadēva 'the Parīkṣa' of Kondaviḍu, Addanki and Vinukonda. We cannot definitely fix the exact date of Gajapati occupation of this region. It must have taken place sometime between 19th August 1453<sup>53</sup> and 12th April 1454 A.D.

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49. 386 of 1915 - Śaka 1375 Śrīmukha, Bhādrapada Śu.15, Sunday.

50. 771 of 1922.

51. 373 of 1915 and 371 of 1915.

52. 70 of 1917 dated Śaka 1376 Bhāva, Vaiśākha Śu.15, Thursday (First known date of Kapilendra).

53. 386 of 1915 dated Śaka 1375 Śrīmukha Bhādrapada Śu.15, Sunday (the last known date of Mallikārjuna).



In this connection it may be interesting to note that there are some Cātu verses current in Telugu country enumerating the conquest of some of the forts in the region south of the river Kṛṣṇā by the generals of the Gajapati. Gajarāvu Tipṇa, who has already been referred to, claims a victory over Camadapāmātya near the <sup>54</sup>Kondavīdu hill. From another <sup>55</sup>Cātu verse, we come to know that an officer under him

54. Further Sources 72, p.86.

"జమదవంతు యోని సానసా నాట్లదే  
కాండవీదాపత్తి కాండవీద"

This 'Camadapāmātya' of the Cātu verse may be a mistake for Camanāmātya a minister of Dēvarāya Mahārāya.

"దేవరాయ మహారాయ ధీవిధియ  
మంత్రి పల్లి శివ సుమనా మంత్రి"

Jakkana Vikramārka Caritram (Sources p.63).

55. Further Sources, II, p.66

నారీ లో దమ్మ భూపతి మాళి వశ్యం  
తతల సానులై తరమి మెన్న  
దంకి వైపు నెలము కాండ సాధియెను  
ప్రొడ్డి నేర్చెను రంగరాజు కాండ  
అప్పు వనరాజులంక దీపితు రావసిం  
గవను పరాళియఁ గామె నేర్చె  
నని కరణాన్న బురహదీ బాసుని గానెఁ  
గుటుకక్కి నుండపల్లి నానియె.

Father of this Tamma Bhūpati was Rācirāju, officer under Dēvarāya II. He fought with Dāmora Timma, and the Yavanas probably in service of Dēvarāya II. Subsequently when the country passed into the hands of Kapilendra his son took up service under the Gajapati.

సకల సౌమనా రామనా నక్రి వర్తి  
రామ కుళేక్షర సామి రామభిరున్  
భూసు రామమ తమ వాటి పుంసపాటి  
రావ విభు తమ్ము ఉద్వేద రామమన

Further Sources II, p.66.





Kapilendra, Tamma Bhupati of the Pūsapāti family captured several forts in this region and among them were Bellamkonda, Vādapalli and Rangarājukonda. Further the Cātu verse says he defeated Rāvu Singa<sup>56</sup> and that he gave protection to one Bāhātikhan after defeating him.

(Thus bringing under sway, Kondavidu, Addanki and Vinukonda, before April 1454 A.D., Kapilendra appointed one of his own Kinsman<sup>57</sup> Ganadōva as Governor of Kondavidu.)

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56. Rāvu Singa is referred to in the Cātu verse, as the title signify, must have been a Velama chief. The contemporary Velama chiefs were Linga of Dēvarakonda and Sarvajna Singa III of Rājukonda. Ibrāhīm Sanjar Khān, who was left in Telangana to conquer the country and conciliate the people by Sultān Ahmad Shah, seems to have attacked Singa and deprived him of his ancestral dominions including Rācakonda, and that chief was assigned to 'Prince Daud Khān' (Briggs Ferishta II p.423) by Sultān Ahmed Shah. An undated inscription (V.R.II, Cat.767) at Bellamkonda refers to the charities of Singa. Probably after loosing his ancestral home, Sarvajna Singa might have returned to Bellamkonda, and here he was defeated by Tamma, the officer of Kapilendra.

57. I.A., Vol.XX ~ p.310. Kondavidu plates of Ganadeva dated S.1377 record the grant of the village Cāvali and in the, Praśasti he claims descent from Kapilendra of Sūrya Vamsa (his over-lord); the father of the donor was Guhidēva Patra.



( Encouraged by these victories and taking advantage of the weakness that set into the Vijayanagara administration, the Gajapati armies under Hamvira, marched on a conquering expedition to the south. )

<sup>58</sup>  
The Anantavaram plates which record his achievements says that Hamvira 'washed his sword stained with the blood of the enemy kings in the southern ocean'. <sup>59</sup>  
The Velagalani plates of Kapilendra dated 1458 A.D. describes his achievements as follows.

हंदा कंय मगान्त दधिक दरा वाराच पारानुर  
द्वारा कल्वेरगा विमुक्त नुरगा विस्त्रीच मिस्त्री वृता । 60.

He is said to have terrified Hampā, Dhēra, Kulburga and Delhi.  
Apart from the exaggeration implied in this statement, it appears certain that before 1458 A.D. Vijayanagara (Hampā) and Kulburga (Kulburga) did suffer territorial losses at the hands of Kapilendra.

( Though Gangādhara claims victory for Mallikārjuna, the decline of the authority of the first Vijayanagara Dynasty begins from that date. ) Kapilendra did not lose heart with the reverse he met with

58. Andhra Patrika Manual 1928.

" కృష్ణా నది పరంతర విభుర్వినాశయం విభుర్వినాశయం ప్రభావం వాక్  
అతా ధయ మృత్యు శ్రవణం తాక్షి తాం కృష్ణా నది కం దక్షిణా సంగమంబున "

59. Śaka 1380 - See Mad. Ep. Rep. A 17 of 1934-1935

60. A.17 of 1934-35, dated Ś.1380, Mahudhanya, Vaisakha. This verse is repeated in the Chiruvrōlu plates of Hamvira dēva.  
( Bharati Nov.1941.)



in his attempt on the capital. He sent armies under his son to the south; another contingent under Tamma, to attack Udayagiri, the headquarters of the Eastern province of Vijayanagara, while he himself marched against the capital of Vijayanagara.

( Conquest of Udayagiri:-- Tamma Bhūpāla appears to have conquered <sup>61</sup> Udayagiri sometime about 1460 A.D. for there is an inscription dated in that year on the top of the Udayagiri hill recording the construction of some temple and gifts made to it by him. Kapilendra seems to have appointed Tamma, as ruler over a portion of Udayagiri Rājya. Basava <sup>62</sup> Bhūpāla, son of Tamma Bhūpāla, ruled Udayagiri as subordinate of the Gajapati and earned for himself the titles 'Ranaranga Bhairava, Raśika Sikhāmani' etc. He was a great scholar and gave patronage to men of letters.)

Kapilendra marched with his forces through modern Kurnul district, bringing into subjection those who opposed him. He was <sup>63</sup> at Śrīsaillam in 1460 A.D., making gifts to the God on the occasion of a lunar eclipse. Another inscription from the Koilkuntla Taluq

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61. 208 of 1892, dated Śaka 1382.

62. Pañcatantṛam of Dūḥḡuṇṭa Nārāyaṇa Kavi;  
Nāśikētōpākhyānam. Dagguballī Duggana.

63. 30 of 1915, dated Śaka 1382.



of the Kurnul District records the setting up of a 'Jayastambha'  
by one "Narasim.. ..... trudu" (probably Narasimha Pātrudu)  
and the gift of lands for the merit of Kapilēndradēva Mahārāya.<sup>64</sup>  
The Nayanāḍha Carita<sup>65</sup> incidentally refers to a battle fought  
against the Gajapati by 'Mukti Śānta Bhikṣāvṛtti rāya', the Pontiff  
of the Math of the same name at Śrīśaila, probably as an ally of  
Mallikārjuna. He claims to have seized the 'Septāṅgas of the  
Gajapati', i.e., deprived him of the insignia of royalty. But this  
statement of Nayanāḍha Carita does not appear to be quite true.  
<sup>66</sup>  
Velucōtivāri Vamsāvali credits Mādava Linga with a victory over  
'Mukti Śānta Bhikṣāvṛtti' and we have seen that Velamas were allies  
of Gajapati Kapilēndra. Linga might have fought against the Pontiff  
and inflicted a defeat on his forces. The erection of Jayastambha,  
and Linga's claims to a victory over the Religious Pontiff of Śrī-  
śailam, show that some portion of modern Kurnul District was conquered

64. 277 of 1935-36, Uyyalavada village.

65. No.1079. Des. Cat. of Telugu Mss. p.1410.

" సన్నుతకై పదకొండే మురుం దసమ  
సన్నాహం గనిపతి సప్తాంగమారుడు

66. 'Velucōtivāri Vamsāvali' p.51.

తంకభక్షాపుత్రునిగొల్లనెలుగళి  
తైలపట్టణం మిఠానెలనాడు.



by Kapilēndra and was annexed. This explains the existence of the name 'Kapilēśvara rāju' in the list of kings that ruled over Kurnul.<sup>67</sup>

Gajapati armies under Hamvira marched to the south and Mallikārjuna in spite of his weaknesses and troubles at home tried his best to stem this wave of Gajapati advance. Transfer of Sāluva Nārasiṃha from Chendragiri to the Penugonda, Prof. S.K.Ayyangar observes, was done only to oppose Kapilēndra. Mallikārjuna's visit to Penkonda in 1459 A.D. on 'Rājakārya' with Danāpaka Timmana might have been to make the necessary preparations for opposing the Orissa ruler. But as later events prove, nothing came out of the talks except the rise of Sāluva Nārasiṃha to prominence and his ultimate usurpation of the Vijayanagara throne.

Notwithstanding the attempts of Vijayanagara rulers, Orissa forces under Hamvira conquered a large portion of Vijayanagara kingdom.<sup>68</sup> Several inscriptions in the Tamil districts refer to this 'Oddiyan

~~Subahat~~

67. L.R.55, p.240. (From a fragmentary 'Kavilo' in the possession of the Karanam Gangaraju of Gorakallu. (Further Sources) Vignu-bhakti Sudhākaram and Usabhayudayam (Further Sources) p.86) refer to the conquest of 'Tondanāraya Gulla' by Tamma Bhūpati, and this might have formed part of modern Kurnul district.

68. No.93 of 1906 dated S.1395, Mandana, corresponding to A.D.1472-73 refers to the confusion caused by the Oddiyan and the consequent cessation of Festivals in the Sāluva temples at Jambai in South Arcot District for ten years. No.1 of 1905 dated the years earlier (1470-71 A.D.) also refers to this 'Oddiyan' disturbances about 8 or 10 <sup>years</sup> ago. Kṛṣṇarāya Viṣayam incidentally refers to this invasion of Kapilēndra to the south.



Galabai\* or Oriya conquest of the south.) An inscription from Mannur in South Arcot district dated 1464 A.D. mentions ~~Sam~~ one 'Daks<sup>u</sup>āina . Kapilēśvara Kumāra Mahāpātra, son of Hambīra' (who was previously Governor of Konḍavīdu) as ruling over "Konḍapalli, Addanki, Vinikōḇa, Dandapada, Padavīdu, Valudilampattu Sāvidi, Tirvārūru, Trichinopoly and <sup>69</sup>Chandragiri in 1464 A.D.

( Chandragiri, was the headquarters of that part of Vijayanagara Empire, known as Candnagirirājya and a branch of Sāluva chiefs to which the usurper Nārasiṃha belonged was ruling at Tirumala and the surrounding country during the reign of Mallikārjuna Rāya.) With the transfer of Sāluva Nārasiṃha to Penugonda from Chandragiri, Chandragiri rājya was left unguarded and in the absence of a capable leader to defend the fortress no wonder if it fell into the hands of Gajapati armies. (Sāluva Nārasiṃha who was transferred to the central division of Vijayanagara empire increased his authority as a semi-independent chief in the modern North Arcot, south Arcot and <sup>70</sup>Chingleput districts taking advantage of the weakness of the contemporary rulers of Vijayanagara.)

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69. 51 and 92 of 1919, dated Ś.1386, Tārana Mithuna Śu.3, Thursday, Puṣkya.

70. 318 of 1909.



In 1463 A.D. when Gajapati armies were fighting in the South, the defence of Chandragiri Rājya seems to have been left to Sāluva Rāmacandra Rāja<sup>71</sup> son of Mallayadēva Mahārāya. After the subjugation of Udayagirirājya, Pūṣapāti Tammabhūpati marched against Chandragiri and conquered it sometime before 1466 A.D. (Ś.1386), probably defeating Sāluva Rāmacandra Rāja. An inscription from Tirumalai<sup>72</sup> refers him as a Mahamandalēśvara and 'Hōsabindūgaraganda'.

Gajapati advance into the south was not unopposed. Trichinopoly<sup>73</sup> one of the places mentioned in the inscription, over which Daksina Kapilēśvara Mahāpātra was appointed governor in 1464<sup>A.D.</sup> was under the authority of Sāluva Chief Gōpa Tippa<sup>74</sup> or as his Srirangam inscription<sup>75</sup> styles him Gōpa Timma Nṛpati. He was a subordinate of Mallikārjuna and ruled as his Vassal over these regions. This Sāluva Chief appears

71. 154 T.T.

72. No.7 T.T. M.E. Rep. Para 29, 1904; Ibid para 73, 1907.

73. 51 and 92 of 1917.

74. M.E.R. para 54 for 1912. He is mentioned in an inscription (S.I.I.Vol.II, p.117) as an independent ruler at Tanjore. This Gōpa Tippa or Tippayadēva Mahārāya is otherwise known as Gōpa Tippa alias Tripurāntaka. He wrote a commentary on Vāmana's 'Kāvvalēṅkāra Sūtra' named 'Kāvvalēṅkāra Kāmadhōnu'. (Sources p.62-63).

75. 59 of 1892, dated Ś.1385, expired Svabhānu. The years Svabhānu ends with 25th March 1464 A.D.



to have opposed the invading Oriya forces under Hamvira, and his son, while Mallikarjuna his overlord went to his support. A copper plate<sup>76</sup> inscription dated 1462-63 from Srirangam temple recording gift of villages by the king Mallikarjuna 'for the success of his own arms' enables us to infer that Mallikarjuna was at that time fighting with his enemies near Srirangam in Trichinopoly district. It is reasonable to suppose that he was then engaging the Oriya forces under Hamvira and his son.

The result of the battle was not favourable to Mallikarjuna. We learn from an inscription at Srirangam temple, that 'Dakṣiṇa Kapileśvara, Hamvira Kumāra Mahāpātra, was making gift of cows in March 1464, probably as a token of his victory over the Vijayanagara monarch. (After <sup>this</sup> ~~this~~ victory over Mallikarjuna in March 1464 <sup>he</sup> the<sup>78</sup> armies proceeded to Sētu (Ramesvara) pillaging and ravaging the country all along. There Kumāra Hamvira washed his sword stained with the blood of enemy kings.)

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76. C.P. No.28 of 1905-6.

77. 87 of 1937-38, dated S.1386, Svabhānu Pāṅguni 25 (Tuesday 25, March, 1464 A.D.).

78. Kṛṣṇārāya Viṣayam. V. 81, and Anantavaram plates of Pratāparudra, Andhra Patrika Annual 1928.





Thus when the armies of Orissa had conquered the south, Kapilendra rewarded his grandson Dakṣiṇa Kapilēśvara for his valuable assistance in this campaign, by appointing him as the <sup>79</sup>'Parikṣa' of the newly conquered dominions in June 1464.

Gajapati conquest of the south was not a mere raid. The inscriptions of Mennur and Tirukkoyilur say 'for ten years the temples at Tirukkoyilur could not be repaired because of the 'Oddiyan Galabai'. The Mennur inscription prove that even in 1464 Kapilendra was in possession of almost the entire eastern sea board of the Vijayanagara Empire. On the authority of these inscriptions H. Krishnasastri wrote that the 'conquest of the Gajapati was not a passing inroad only but almost an occupation of the country right upto Tiruvannur in the Tanjore district and Trichinopoly.' The appointment of Dakṣiṇa Kapilēśvara Kumāra Hanvira Mahāpātra as 'Parikṣa' over all these regions also show that the Gajapati monarch intended to annex the whole territory to his empire. ( Then the question arises whether all the Tamil districts as far south as Tanjore were under the authority of Gajapatis 'for ten years'. <sup>80</sup> Late Mr. R.D. Banerji, on the testimony of Jambai and Tirukkoyilur records in South Arcot district, wrote that they were under Gajapatis for ten years. But an inscription of Sālūva Nṛsiṃha

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79. 51 and 92 of 1919.

80. Hist. of Orissa, Vol.I, p. 29466.



dated S.1388 found ~~xxx~~ at Munnur in the same district shows that the Saluva Chieftain began the task of redeeding the country from the Oriya yoke as early as December 1466 A.D. Whether he met with any success just then is doubtful. As the Vijayanagara inscriptions<sup>81</sup> dated 1470-72 A.D., coming from the same locality still refer to the Oddiyan disturbances and the consequent cessation of festivals in the local temples we have to presume that there was a prolonged fight for the possession of Tamil districts and it was only when Orissa was entangled in a civil war during the years 1470-72 that Saluva Nrsimha could find time to fulfill his task.

OPERATIONS AGAINST THE BAHMANI SULTANS.

<sup>82</sup>  
Kapilendra in his Velagalani plates dated 1458 A.D., claims for himself the credit of making 'Gulburga devoid of horses' and this implies his conquest of that region.

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81. No.1 of 1905; 93 of 1906; 287 of 1929; 310 of 1919; 111 of 1934-35; 213 of 1935; 262 of 1937 and 416 of 1937-38.

82. A 17 of 1934-35 dated S.1380 Bahudhanya, Vaisakha

The Bahmani Sultans had their capital at Gulburga only upto 1432 A.D. Then it was shifted to Ahmadabad Bidur by Sultan Ahmad Shah. Yot to the neighbouring Hindu rulers they were still 'Sultans of Gulburga'. These Sultans are also known in the South by the term 'Hayapati' or Lord of Horses since cavalry formed a major part of their armies. Kapilendra's claim that he had made Gulburga devoid of horses was only a poetic way of expressing his success over the Hayapati.



Bahmani Sultāns, ever since the foundation of their kingdom, endeavoured to extend their frontiers to the sea in the east, at the expense of their neighbours. We have already seen that the rivalry between the Bahmani and the Gajapati generals in the race for the possession of the coastal area culminated in the battle of Khorramet<sup>83</sup> sometime after 1448 A.D., which gave victory to the Gajapati arms.<sup>84</sup> In this battle Hamvira son of Kapilendra is said to have defeated the 'Yavanas' and the Velama chief Gajaravu Tippa distinguished himself. It is very likely that Sanjar Khān lost his life in this sanguinary battle. At any rate Azim Khān figures as governor of Telingāna sometime prior to 1454 A.D.

Though Alāuddin II could not add any territory to his dominions he tried to maintain his hold over the possessions in Telingāna he had inherited. In 859 A.H. (1454 A.D.) Ferishta informs us<sup>85</sup> that, while the Sultān was laid up with some dangerous eruption in his foot, rumours were spread that the Sultān was dead. Relying on these rumours ~~xxx~~ Jalāl Khān one of his nobles seized many districts around his fief of 'Nowulgoond' which he gave in charge to Sikandar Khān.

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83. Further Sources II, p.86.

84. Sayyid Ali who describes the exploits of Sanjar Khān appears to have crammed with-in a couple of years the events of larger periods. The Gajapati could not have become "the Uriya leader of Telingana" before 1448 A.D. (See Supra p. 68 )

85. Grandson (through his mother) to late Ahmad Shāh and consequently a nephew of Alāuddin. (Briggs: II, p.447).



Azim Khān Governor of Telingāna also dying at the same time and no officer of sufficient influence being at the spot to assume the charge,<sup>86</sup> the officers of the province submitted to Sikandar Khān. Sultān Alāuddin in spite of his indisposition marched with his forces to reduce the rebels. Jalal Khān and Sikandar Khān agreed that the former should remain in Telingāna and the latter <sup>should</sup> proceed to Malwa to distract the movements of the royal army. Alāuddin II sent offers of pardon; but<sup>87</sup> Sikandar Khān inviting Mahmud Khilji of Malwa for his assistance, advanced at the head of his forces to join him.

Sultān Alāuddin despatched forces under Khwaja Mahmud Gwalani (Gwan) to attack Jalal Khān and himself followed by the army of Berar and Daulatabad advanced to meet the Sultān of Malwa in battle.<sup>88</sup> It appears that Mahmud Khilji, learning that the Sultān was alive, retreated leaving behind a small force, to take Sikandar Khān captive. But Sikandar Khān escaped and shut himself up in the fort of 'Nowlgoond'. That fortress was besieged by Mahmud Gwān to whom he surrendered on condition of a free pardon. The Sultān once again favoured him and

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86. Briggs, II, p.447.

87. Briggs, II (p.448), informs us that he made Mahmud Khilji believe that Sultān Alāuddin was dead and the principal nobles were dividing the kingdom.

88. Ibid, p.449.



restore him his Jagir (Nowlgoond).

This success of Alāuddin II over the rebels was not achieved  
<sup>89</sup>single handed and without foreign help as Ferishta wants us to believe.  
<sup>90</sup>Velugōtiyāri Vamsāvali categorically mentions that the Velama chiefs  
helped the Sultān in his fight against Sikandar Khān. <sup>91</sup>Dr. N. Venkata-  
ramannaiah thinks that Alā-ud-Din II sought the assistance of Kapilēndra  
of Orissa, to fight against Malwa. <sup>92</sup>For the latter claims a victory  
over the Sultān of Malwa and one Cātu <sup>93</sup>verse refers to his conquest  
of Māhur. But no-where we have any reference to a fight between the  
Sultans of Malwa and Gajapati Kapilēndra in any of the Muslim histories,  
nor do the inscriptions warrant any such inference. The Velagalani  
<sup>94</sup>plates and Chiruvrōlu inscriptions, cited by Dr. N. Venkataramanaiah,  
simply record the progress of the Gajapati. Actually no war is described  
against Malwa in those inscriptions. They simply say "when Kapilēndra  
marched with his forces Hampā, the capital of Vijayanagara trembled,

89. Ferishta himself (Briggs II, p447 ) after narrating this incident refers to a split in the royal camp and to the formation of the rival groups the 'Deccanis' and the 'foreigners'. These foreigners had a large army under them.

90. Velugōtiyāri Vamsāvali, Dr. N.V.R. p.49.

" ధీమత్యై యల్లా ఉద్ధీమరథానుతా  
నమ్రోగా శువనో (తి) నేక్తి నాడు  
గొంకింగు బలమిసి జేంద్ర శాంసునిదాట  
యెలమిరాజ్యంబు తానేల నాడు "

91. § A.17 of 1933-36.

92. Cātu Verse quoted by Dr.N.V.R. Bharati, Nov. 1941.

93. A.17 of 1933-36.

94. Bharati, Nov, 1941 p.515 ff.



and Dhār the Chief City of Malwa got frightened, Gulburga became devoid of horses and wild tribes came to live in Delhi which was evacuated by its people due to the fear of Kpilōndra." Still Dr. W. Venkataramaniah thinks that there was a possibility for Kpilōndra to have fought the forces of Mālwa Sultān as an ally of Bahmani Sultān Alā-<sup>95</sup>ud-Din II, at Mahur, Sikandar Khān revolted against the authority of Alāuddin II and he invited Mahmūd Khilji of Malwa to invade Telingāna and Berar. On his invitation Mahmūd of Mālwa marched with his forces and laid seige to the fort of Mahur in 860 A.H. (1455 A.D.).<sup>96</sup> Sultān Alāuddin Bahmani is said to have defeated the ruler of Malwa. According to Dr. W. Venkataramaniah he must have fought the Sultān of Malwa in alliance with Kpilōndra. In support of this conclusion he cites Gāṅgādēśasapratāpavitāṣṣam, which according to him mentions that Kpilōndra was friendly with Sultān Alāuddin II and a Cātu Verse which includes<sup>97</sup> Mahur among the places conquered by Kpilōndra.

95. Bharati, Nov. 1941, p. 515 ff.

96. Briggs, II, p. 449.

97. Chiruvrōlu plates. Bharati Nov. 1941, p. 521, and the Cātu Verse quoted by him from the Mac.Mss. 15-4-4, runs as follows:

శ్రీ కృష్ణులూపల గజ వాడ చెజవాడ  
యెది నుదాతిల్లు నూరు గల్లు  
తాట కూరంగల్లు తాండమారయగుల్లు  
సెరటి నుకృతతాట పెడద తాట  
వీర ప్రంగళులకు నెటలు మాడిలు  
మగజికి విహారముమల వలరము  
గజ యాధముల గల్లు కంబాల కంబాల  
పట్టణముగురాలపెట్టె డిల్లీ  
ఇట్టి గజరాము కౌన్తముచెన్నీనూడ  
కాలది హూరినది వరకాండ తాండ  
వీర కార్తీక సింహము విజయము  
దేశముల జూపు దామర అప్పగూడ

Mac.Mss. 15-4-3.



Kapilendra could not have fought Malwa as an ally of the Bahmani Sultān. Gangādāsaprataṭāpavilāsaṃ does not mention anything about the relations that existed between these two states. It describes the fight of Mallikārjuna against the Gajapati and Rayapati who laid siege to Vijayanagara at the same time. We cannot infer from it that the invaders had any previous plans or understandings before they attacked the capital of Vijayanagara. On the contrary we have evidence to show that they had strained relations. Sanjar Khān's attacks upon the Hindu subjects under Kapilendra, the claims of Gajarāvu Tippa an Officer of the Gajapati, for a victory over 'Yavanas' (Muslims) at Khammammet, go a long way to support the above conclusion.

The Cātu verse which Dr. Venkataramanaiah had cited as one of the evidences for his surmise, includes 'Bedada Kōta' (Bidur) and other forts, with Māhur, among the places that were said to be in the sphere of influence of Kapilendra. The Gajapati ruler must have brought 'Bedada Kōta' under his influence as an enemy and not an ally of Bahmani Sultān. Māhur then certainly formed a part of Bahmani kingdom, and naturally Kapilendra should have wrested it, if at all,

98. Burhan-I-Ma'asir, I.A., XXVIII, p.216.

99. Subsequent to the suppression of Sikandar Khān's revolt, Sultān Alāuddin II before he returned to the capital entrusted the government of Māhur districts to Fakhāl-Mulk Turk and Furhūt-Mulk commanded the garrison of Māhur. (Briggs, II, p.449).



as an enemy of Bahmani ruler and not as an ally. So they must have been brought under the sphere of his influence in a different campaign.

Sultān Alā-ud-Dīn died in 1457 A.D. (862 A.H.) and his son Humayun succeeded him on the throne. Immediately after his accession he effected certain changes. Malik Shāh, an officer who claimed descent from Chengiz Khān was appointed Governor of Telingāna, conferring on him the title 'Khawājā Jehān'.<sup>100</sup> Sikandar Khān, son of Jalāl Khān, felt disappointed when he was not entrusted with the Government of Telingāna, left the court without taking leave, joined his father Jalāl Khān at Nowligoond, and rose in revolt.

Humayun Shāh sent forces against him under Khān Jehān, governor of Bērar, but he was defeated by the rebel. This chief seems to have had the support of Linga of Dēvarakonda.<sup>101</sup> Seeing that the troops sent under Khān Jehān had proved ineffective, Sultān Humayun himself marched at the head of the forces against the rebel. In the battle

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100. Briggs, II, p.453.

101. In the earlier rebellion of Sikandar Khān the Velama Chief Linga assisted the Sultān Alā-ud-Dīn II and expelled Sikandar Khān from his fief. We have no information to explain the change in his attitude towards the Sultān. Probably he was not satisfied with the treatment accorded to him by the late Sultān. Humayun Shāh was styled even by Muslim historians as a 'Zālim' or tyrant. Realising the probable danger to their state and their very existence from Humayun Shāh, he must have made common cause with Sikandar Khān who had also claims for the throne. (Briggs II p.447).





that ensued, the forces of the Sultān were almost defeated, and when Sikandar Khān attacked the king personally, the elephant on which Humayun was mounted <sup>seized</sup> ~~took~~ Sikandar by its trunk and dashed him to the ground. The death of Sikandar changed the fate of the battle. The rebels fled <sup>seeing</sup> ~~seing~~ their leader dead. Humayun then laid siege to Nowlgoond and at the end of a week Jalāl Khān <sup>seeing</sup> ~~seing~~ no other recourse but submission offered to surrender. His life was spared but he was confined in a castle where <sup>102</sup> ~~he~~ ended his days.

Humayun Shāh then marched to chastise the Velama Chief of Devarakonda who had lent support to the rebel Sikandar Khān. Twenty thousand cavalry and forty elephants and countless number of infantry were sent under Khwāja Jehān and Nizām-ul-Mulk to attack Devarakonda, and the Sultān himself marched towards Warāṅgal. The Velama chief on this occasion applied for the assistance of the Rāya of Orissa, offering him great sums of money. Kapilendra sent a considerable body of troops with several war elephants for his support in advance, and also promised to follow himself with all his forces quickly. <sup>103</sup> The Velama Chief after

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102. Briggs, II, p.456.

103. Briggs, II, p.457. Why should Kapilendra go to the assistance of the Velama Chief against the Bahmani Sultān? The reasons are not far to seek. Bahmani Sultān was his enemy, because both of them coveted the possession of the east coast. By this time Kapilendra succeeded in putting an end to the authority of the Reddis and Rāyas of Vijayanagara in the coastal Telugu Districts and established a viceroyalty at Kondavidu. As such he had to safeguard his territory from a probable attack by the Sultān. Humayun Shāh's move to chastise the Velama Chief of Devarakonda may be the first step to extend his sway to the coast.



sustaining several defeats at the hands of the Muslims in open battles, finally shut himself up in the fort of Dēvarakonda. A battle was fought near that fort between the army of Bahmani Sultān and the Velama chiefs assisted by Oriya forces under Harivira. Bahmani forces 'sustained a total defeat'. Humayun Shah Bahmanī, learning the discomfiture of his army, recruited troops to march against Dēvarakonda and wipe out that disgrace. Unfortunately some palace disturbances necessitated his journey home. So leaving Khwaja Mahmud Gawan to undertake the campaign he returned to his capital. For this incident Ferishta assigned the date 864 A.H. (1459 A.D.) and hence the siege of Dēvarakonda must have taken place during the year 1458.

This victory over the Bahmani forces at Dēvarakonda enabled Kapilēndra to assume the high sounding title 'Kalavargōśvara' in 1458 A.D.

104. Briggs, II, p.458.

105. The Velagalani plates (A.No.17 of 1934-35) dated S.1380 (1458 A.D.) mention for the first time this title 'Navakōti Karnātakalavaragōśvara' assumed by Kapilēndra dēva. His earlier inscriptions do not mention this title.

| Date.     | Title.   | Place.             | Reference.  |
|-----------|--|--------------------|---|
| A.D.1450. | Gajapati Gaudōśvara                                    | Simhāchalam.       | 1089 S.I.I. Vol.VI.                                   |
| -do-      | -do-   | Jagannātham.       | J.A.S.B.LXII part I                                   |
|           |  |                    | No.2, p.99.   |
| A.D.1455. | Vīra Śrī Gajapati Gaudōśvara.                          | Srikūrmam.         | 313 of 1896.  |
| A.D.1458. | Gajapati Gaudōśvara Nava-kōti Karnāta Kalavaragōśvara. | Velagalani Plates. | A.17.of 1934-35<br>M.E.R. 1934-35<br>Part II page 37. |

This title assumed by Kapilēndra needs some explanation.  
(See Appendix.No.I PP.292 66)



It was only the beginning of his campaigns against the Bahmany Sultān. Encouraged by the success at the fort of Dōvarakonda, Kumāra Hamvira, who was at the head of the Oriya forces, began to conquer the whole of Telingana. Thus the Oriya support to the Velamas cost <sup>the latter</sup> ~~them~~ their independence. Linga too became a vassal of the Gajapati ruler.

The absence of the Sultān from the scene of operations, and the rebellion of Prince Hussain at the capital of the Bahmanis, with the suppression of which the Sultān was then busily engaged, enabled the Gajapati prince to penetrate into the heart of the Bahmani Kingdom. He attacked Khwaja Mahmūd Gawan who was stationed at Warangal to protect Telingana. <sup>106</sup> 'Ambadeva Mahārāya' (Hamvira) defeated this Muslim officer, and one of his inscription in the fort of Warangal dated <sup>107</sup> 2nd February 1460, mentions that the fort was taken by the Gajapati Prince on that day.

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106. Ferishta and Sayyid Ali do not at all mention the loss of Warangal in 1460. Śaka 1382, Pramādi, Māgha Śu.10 Ma. (Saturday).  
 107. There is another inscription in the fort of Warangal dated Kali 4561, Śaka 1382 Pramādi Māgha Śu.10, Friday, (the week is Saturday and not Friday) mentioning Virabhadra Raghudēva Harōndra, son of Parāsurāma Dēvarāya of Solar Race (Mac.Mss. 15-4-4). This chief appears to be identical with 'Raghudēva Harōndra Mahā Pātra' a minister of Kapilēndra who is mentioned as ruler of Rājahmāhendra rājya in another inscription (494 of 1893) dated 1458 A.D. (Ś.1380 not given) Bahudhānya, Jyeshtha Śa.13). He must have also accompanied Hamvira in this campaign.



Sultān Humāyūn Shāh died on September 3, 1461 A.D., and was succeeded by his eight year old son Nizam Shah. The queen-mother, Makhdumah Jahan with the assistance of Mahmud Gawan, who was appointed Vazir, administered the affairs of the state as regent. But as most of the Amirs and Vazirs, through fear of the vengeance of Humayun Shāh <sup>had</sup> fled from the country, the army had fallen into a state of utmost disorder, and discontented nobles withdrew from their allegiance and raised rebellions. Ferishta writes that the neighbouring rulers, both Mussulmans and Hindus, hearing that the throne of the Deccan was occupied by a child and that the nobles and other important officers were disaffected owing to the tyranny of the late sovereign, made every preparation to encroach on the Bahmani dominions. The first ruler who attacked the Bahmani kingdom was the Rāya of Orissa <sup>108</sup> in alliance with the Zamindars of Telingana. With a very large army he invaded the 'territory of Islam' with the object of conquering the whole country of Telingana and to exact tribute from the infant king. The Velama forces also joined the Orissa army and soon, plundering and devastating the country they arrived within a distance of ten miles from Ahmadabad Bidar.

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108. Briggs, II, p.466.



The accounts of Sayyid Ali and Ferishta both agree regarding the details of this campaign. The two Bahmani ministers collecting an army of 40,000 men marched with the young monarch to oppose the enemy. They sent Shah Mohib Ullah with a message that "their master had designed to invade and conquer Orissa and Jajnuggar, but since the Rāya had himself <sup>had</sup> come so far with his army, the king would be able to effect the object of defeating him without the trouble of marching to those distant countries; moreover that the king had resolved not to allow a man of the enemy to escape, unless the amount of injuries done to his dominions should be repaired and the Rāya agree to pay tribute." <sup>109</sup> This messenger followed by an escort of one hundred and sixty men, was stopped by the Hindu army and Ferishta informs us that he charged the Rāya's advanced picquets so boldly that the Hindus, thinking that the whole army was in motion fell back, and the Rāya of Orissa and Tulingana leaving their heavy baggage on the ground retreated during the night. The Rāya finding that they lost two ~~or~~ to three thousand men in every day's march due to the activity of the Khwajah Jahan took <sup>refuge</sup> ~~protection~~ in a fort (name not given) and sent messages to the minister, Mahmud Gawan entreating pardon. After much debate and on payment of a large sum of money

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109. Briggs, II, p.466.



they were allowed to retreat towards their own territories without  
110  
further molestation.

On the very face of them these accounts of Muslim historians show that they were not giving a correct picture of the events. Ferishta's account bears on it the stamp of untruth. The remarks of Briggs on this account of Ferishta are worth noting. According to him "Ferishta had exercised neither discretion nor even much research in not endeavouring to account for the sudden retreat of the Hindus; for it is absurd to suppose that the mere appearance of one hundred and sixty men would alone have broken up a confederacy which seems to  
111  
have been so seriously formed for the recovery of Tulingana."

The real explanation for the withdrawal of the armies of Orissa, without giving battle when they came face to face with their enemy, is not far to seek. The whole Orissa army was then engaged in wars in  
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the south. Just then Orissa was threatened with an invasion from

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110. Briggs, II, p.467-68. I.A., XXVIII, p.278-79. Sayyad Ali unconsciously gives out the truth when he was narrating the causes for the Malwa invasion. He writes "Sultan Mahmud Khilji having become aware of the dispersion of the army of the Dakhan ~~army~~ and the disorder which reigned in it, and the ascendancy of the infidels had ..... come with an immense army.

111. Footnote - Briggs, II p.467.

112. Another contingent of Orissa army under Hamvira was then marching into the south. - See Supra pp 75 66.



Jaunpur. According to Nizām-ud-Dīn Ahmad, Sultān Hussain Shārqī "with the ambition of conquering various countries collected an army of 300,000 horsemen and 1400 elephants and advanced towards the country of Orissa." After subduing Tīrhut he sent detachments for plundering and ravaging the country of Orissa. Kapilēndra finding that his country was attacked by Sultān of Jaunpur was compelled to march to the north to save his kingdom from the armies of Jaunpur. The author of *Tabaqāt-I-Akbarī* claims that the Rāya of Orissa in great distress and helplessness made his submission to Hussain of Jaunpur and purchased peace by offering 30 elephants, 100 horses and several other goods in the way of tribute. <sup>113</sup> It was the unexpected danger from Jaunpur that forced him <sup>to</sup> withdraw with his forces from Bahmani territory and not the prowess of Shah Mohib-Ullah, the messenger and his hundred <sup>and</sup> sixty attendants <sup>a</sup> as Ferishta <sup>and</sup> Sayyad Ali want us to believe. Soon Kapilēndra found himself free to attack the Bahmani kingdom again.

According to Ferishta immediately after the Orissa campaign, the Bahmani kingdom was invaded by Sultān Mahmud Khiljī of Mālwa by the route of Khandesh with an army of twenty eight thousand horse. "The Rāyas of Orissa and Tulingāna having again taken the field renewed <sup>114</sup> their depredations on the countries of Islam." The Bahmani Sultān

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113. *Tabaqāt-I-Akbarī*, Vol.III, part I, p.459-60, refers to this campaign of Hussain Shārqī sometime between 1460-66 A.D.  
114. Briggs II, p.468.



left the defence of Telingana to the local division of the army and his two ministers marched with the rest of their forces to oppose the Mālwa ruler.

Kapilendra easily defeated the Bahmani army sent against him and in this campaign conquered several other places including Mahur and Bidar and justified his claims for the title 'Kalavargēśvara' (Lord of Gulbarga).

LAST YEARS OF KAPILENDRA, 1464-1468 A.D. AND THE PROBLEM OF SUCCESSION.

By 1464 A.D., Kapilendra was the undisputed master of the land from the Ganges in the north to Trichinopoly in the south along the coast. He could proudly assume the high sounding titles 'Gajapati Gaudēśvara Navakōti Karmata Kalavargēśvara' with due justification. The Gopināthpur inscription aptly describes his position in 1464 as follows:

कृत्वा संयतिं माकवेन्द्र जयिनीं सेनाधिनाथं तु यं  
मौहेन्द्रस्य तितान्त मुक्तलपय प्रथानरोधार्गिकं  
जीखंडादिपयोधरोपरि कर्तुं निर्माय कांजीद्वरः  
सानन्दं कपिलेश्वरो विहरते कर्णाटराजगिरी ॥

115. J.A.S.B. LXIX, p.175 ff.





Kapilendra could not enjoy this peace and prosperity for long. He was very much distressed by a revolt against his authority by some Zamindars. One of the inscriptions at Jagannatha dated 1464 records an expression of his wounded feelings <sup>thus -</sup> as "Oh Jagannatha thy servant thus informeth the high officers in the Kingdom. From soldiers and servants (illegible probably upto them) I looked after (all) from boyhood. Now they have forsaken me. I will treat them as they deserve. Lord Jagannatha judge the correctness or incorrectness of mine(acts)."<sup>116</sup> This inscription is dated in his 35th Anka. According to Mādalā Pāṇī in the 35th Anka of Kapilendra's reign, the Zamindars of Kundajōri broke out into rebellion. Kundajori is only a mistake for Kṛṣṇā Jhōri or banks of Kṛṣṇā; and the inscription enables us to infer that some of the high officers of the state had assisted those rebels.

We know from inscriptions of <sup>117</sup> Munnur and Jambai that Dakṣiṇa Kapilēśvara Kumāra Haṁvīra Mahā Pātra was then ruling the southern provinces as Viceroy of Kapilendra from Kondavidu. He was a son of Haṁvīra and thus a grandson of Kapilendra. Since the revolt took place on the banks of <sup>the</sup> Kṛṣṇā we have reason to suspect the hands of

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116. J.A.S.B. LXII, 1893, pages 88 ff. dated 35th Anka Mōsa Kr.4, Wednesday 25 April, 1464 A.D.  
117. 51 and 92 of 1919.



Kumāra Hamvīra and his father in that revolt, whether they had hands in the revolt or not, the nomination of Purusōttama, and the death of Kapilēndra are vitally connected with it. Before attempting to explain the causes for their <sup>possible</sup> participation it is essential to mention a few words about Kapilēndra's sons.

118  
The Katakara's Vamsāvali and Jagannātham Kaifiyat mention that Kapilēndra had several sons and could not decide upon whom he should bestow his kingdom. Those sons quarrelled for the throne immediately before or after the death of that great monarch and finally Purusōttama-Dēva emerged out successful. <sup>119</sup> Mukhalīngam Kaifiyat says that 'Purusōttama was the youngest son of Kapilēndra <sup>119</sup>deva of Cuttack'. We do not hear anything about this prince in the inscriptions, dated prior <sup>120</sup>to 1466 A.D. On the otherhand the name of Hamvīra finds mention in several epigraphs. <sup>120</sup>Warangal fort inscription dated 1461 (Pramādi) speaks of him as son of Gajapati Kapilēśvara and records his conquest of that fort. <sup>121</sup>The Chiruvrōlu plates dated only a year later describe him in unmistakable terms as the son of Gajapati and the

118. Further Sources II, p.86.

119. Loc. Rec. Vol.9, p.468-71.

120. No.733, S.I.I. Vol.VII.

121. Chiruvrōlu plates. Bharati <sup>Nov. 1941</sup> <sup>514</sup> ~~Mag.~~, 1936, p.274 ff.



greatest warrior of the time. Inscriptions dated subsequent to the year 1460<sup>A.D.</sup> refers to one Puruṣōttamadeva as the ruler of Orissa. Some scholars tried to identify Puruṣōttamadeva with Hamvīra of earlier inscriptions. The Anantavaram plates of Pratāparudra mention only Puruṣōttama as the son of Kapilendra, and the same thing is repeated in Sarasvativilāsa of the same monarch. But the Anantavaram record, attributes the conquest of the south to one 'Kumāra Hamvīra Vibhu' but does not say anything about his relationship with the ruling sovereign. We know from the epigraphs of Kapilendra's reign that Dakṣiṇa Kapileśvara Kumāra Hamvīra Mahāpātra as the leader of Gajapati armies to the south and the same inscriptions say that he was the son of Hamvīra. Hence the reference to Kumāra Hamvīra in the Anantavaram plates should be either to the son of Kapilendra or to his grandson.

122. The Kavulūru inscription of Puruṣōttama Gajapati mentions one of his titles 'Paharā Hamvīra' (156 of 1913). Basing on this some scholars tried to identify Puruṣōttama with Hamvīra. See J.B.R.S. Vol.XXXI, Part III, p.179.

123. When there is so much epigraphical evidence to show that Hamvīradēva Kumāra Mahāpātra as a son, probably the eldest son, of Kapilendra Gajapati, Mr. G. Ramadoss in his article on Sūrya Vamśi Kings of Orissa (J.B.R.S. Vol.XXXI Pt.III, p.179) identified him with Hamvīra Kumāra Mahāpātra son of Sandu Mahāpātra mentioned in an inscription dated 1453 A.D. from Simhāchalam (S.I.I. Vol.VI. No.1068). But in the light of the evidence cited above his conclusion becomes untenable.



The exact date of Kapilendra's death has been a topic of much discussion. According to the Mādalā Pāñji, Kapilendra died on Pausa Kṛṣṇa 3, Tuesday on the banks of river Kṛṣṇā. It does not give the year. Ferishta says "in the year 876 (1471-72) Ambur ray, cousin to the Ray of Orce, complained to Muhomed Shah, that the Ray being dead, Mungai Ray a Brahmin, his adopted son, had usurped the government in defiance of his prior claims to its inheritance." Burhan-I-Ma'asir records the death of Kapilendra as follows:- "In this year the queen-Mother Makhdumah Jahan died and in A.H. 875 (1470) the Sultan assumed the reins of government, ..... In the midst of these affairs a messenger arrived from Telingana and informed the Sultan that the Ray of Orissa who was the Principal Ray of Telingana was dead." Last known date of Kapilendra from inscriptions is 14th December 1466 A.D. In the opinion of Mr. Stirling, who attempted for the first time to reconstruct the history of Orissa from Original Sources, Kapileśvara died near Kondapalli on the banks of the Kṛṣṇā after a long and distinguished reign of twenty seven years. But we know from inscriptions, published subsequently, that Kapilendra ruled ~~xxx~~ for nearly 33 years and more.

124. J.A.S.B. Vol. LXIX 1900, p.181, footnote.

125. Briggs, II, p.487.

126. Burhan-I-Ma'asir, Ind. Ant. Vol. XXVIII, p.285.

127. 41 Anka, Dhanu Sukla 7, Sunday. J.A.S.B., Vol. LXII, 1893.

128. Stirling, Asiatic Researches, Vol. IV, pp. 163/4.



129

Mr. Manmohan Chakravarti also discussed this problem while editing the Gopināthpur Inscription of Kapilāndradōva. He disagreed with Mr. Stirling regarding the length of Kapilāndra's reign, basing his conclusion on the Jagannāth-inscription of that monarch dated in his 41st Anka, which took his reign atleast upto 33 years. He also objected to the date of the Mādala Pāñji on the ground that it "does not come out correctly" with the week day mentioned: so he assigned 1469-70 as the last year of Kapilāndra. R.D. Banarjee in his History of Orissa completely agreed with the conclusion of Mr. Chakravarti. Both the scholars were of opinion that the ~~date~~ date given for the death of Kapilāndra by Hunter and earlier writers was mistaken and incorrect. On the authority of <sup>the</sup> Burhan-I-Ma'asir Mr. Banarji assigned it to 1470 A.D. when it was hailed with great relief at the Mahmani court.

130

After an exhaustive discussion, Mr. G. Ramadass, finally pitched upon 25th November 1466 as the date of Kapilāndra's death. To support his own conclusion he tried to show the weakness in the arguments of Messrs. Chakravarti and Banarjee. "When M.M. Chakravarti questioned the correctness of the date given in the Madala Panji, he forgot that though the record may be incorrect in other matters, this particular record regarding the date of the death of Kapileśvara could not be

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129. J.A.S.B. Vol.LXIX 1900.

130. J.B.R.S. Vol.XXXI Pt.III, p.173.



refuted as false. For every Śrāddha must have been performed by his son Purusōttanadeva, it was absolutely necessary to record the Lunar month and tithi that the ceremony might be punctually performed.

The year and the week day are not so necessary. If the week day did not come correct for the year we presumed, the record of the Śrāddha day should not be rejected." In addition he quotes a passage from the Prasasti given at the end of the Bhakti Bhāgavata Mahākāvya of Jīva-dēva-cārya, who flourished during the reign of Pratāparudra as "the king gave lands and wealth to Jagannātha and after reigning for thirty two years went to the proximity of Viṣṇu at Treveni." <sup>131</sup>

He also questioned the inference drawn from the evidence of Ferishta and Sayyid Ali with regard to the date of Kapilendra's death, and he writes "who was the Ray of Orissa who was the principal Raya of Telingana reported to have died in 1470?" According to him he could not be Kapilendra as supposed by several scholars simply because "the Ray of Orissa, the principal Ray of Telingana was in possession of a large number of elephants. He concludes that the Ray of Telingana whose death was so noisily reported at the Court of Bidar was Dakṣiṇa Kapileśvara Kumara Mahapatra who was kept in charge of the whole country south of the Kṛṣṇā. <sup>132</sup>

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131. Trans. given by M.M.R.P. Sastri given on page 18 of his Report on the search for Sanskrit Manuscripts for 1901 to 1902 to 1905-1906.

132. 51 and 92 of 1919.



We cannot accept the date suggested by Mr. G. Ramadass or endorse his criticisms of previous writers. His justification for accepting the date of the Mādala Pāñji appears plausible. Though he has rightly pointed out the weakness in the arguments of Messrs. Chakravarti and Banārijāe, he assigned a wrong date himself for the death of Kapilēndra. The date 25 November 1466 suggested by Mr. G. Ramadass for the death of Kapilēndra cannot be accepted because ~~any~~ another inscription dated December 1466, records that he was present while certain gifts were made to God Jagannātha. He identified the "Ray of Orissa" whose death was reported at the Court of Bidar, with Dakṣiṇa Kapilēśvara Kumāra Mahāpātra, Viceroy of Kapilēndra in the south. The Muslim Chroniclers do not mention either the name of Kapilēndra Gajapati or his grandson Dakṣiṇa Kapilēśvara. To whom soever the statement "Ray of Orissa, the principal Ray of Telingana" may apply it is certain that the throne of Orissa fell vacant with his death. The throne was in question and not the viceroyalty. So it is reasonable to identify "the Ray of Orissa whose death was reported in 1470 A.D. at Bidar" with Kapilēndra Gajapati.

In order to ascertain the exact date of Kapilēndra's death we will have to thoroughly analyse the accounts of Muslim chronicles as well as the Mādala Pāñji. For that, it is essential to know the circumstances leading to his death.



By about the year 1464 A.D., Gajapati authority reached its zenith and it is marked by the inscriptions<sup>133</sup> of Dakṣiṇa Kapilēśvara Kumāra Mahāpātra at Munnur in South Arcot district. The Mādala Pāṇi<sup>134</sup> mentions a revolt against the authority of Kapilēndra in his 35th Aṅka by the Zamindars of Kundajhori. This is a corrupt form of the Sanskrit Kṛṣṇajhari as recorded in the Katakaraṇjavamsāvali. The expressions of his wounded feelings recorded in the Jagannātha inscription referred to above may be an outcome of this revolt. Who were the servants that had forsaken him? We know from other inscriptions of the period, his eldest son Hanvira helped him throughout his long career of wars.<sup>135</sup> Anantavaram plates of Pratāparudra make him the leader of the southern campaign. From the Munnur inscription dated above it is clear that in 1464-65 Dakṣiṇa Kapilēśvara Kumāra Mahāpātra, son of Hanvira, was ruling the southern provinces. We do not know exactly if he and his father were themselves rebels. It is very likely, since Kapilēndra himself marched to the south at the head of his forces.<sup>136</sup> The Bezvada inscription of that ruler dated S.1387 (1465-66 A.D.) mentions him to be staying on the banks of the Kṛṣṇā.

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133. 51 and 92 of 1919.

134. Ibid. Note on p.183.

135. Anantavaram plates. Andhra Patrika Annual 1928.

136. No.761 S.I.I. Vol.IV.





Late Mr. Manmohan Chakravarti basing his conclusions on the chronological details supplied by the Puri records published by him fixed the year 1469-70 as the 'precise year of Purushottama Deva's accession'. But this date cannot be accepted for other inscriptions of the same monarch found at Srikūrmam and other places assign an earlier date for his accession.

| Place.   | Añka. | Date.                                   | Date in Xian era.    | Reference.                              |
|--|-------|---|----------------------|---|
| 1. Srikūrmam.  | 7     | S.1392 Āsvīja<br>Śu.7, Tuesday.         | 25 Sept.1470.        | 365 of 1896.                            |
| 2. -do-  | -do-  | S.1393 Khara<br>Gaitra, B.10<br>Sunday. | 11th April,<br>1471. | 366 of 1896.                            |
| 3. -do-  | -do-  | S.1393 Āśāḍha<br>Śu.2, Tuesday.         | 4th June,<br>1477.   | 274 of 1896.                            |
| 4. Copperaxe<br>head inscrip-<br>tion from<br>Balasur. | 25    | Mēṣa-di 10<br>Somaṣvara.                | 6th March,<br>1486.  | I. A. Vol. I PP355/6.<br>I. B. O. R. S. |

From the above list it is clear that the first regnal year or 2nd Añka of Puruṣōttama Gajapati correspond to 1465-66 A.D. This date is in agreement with the details given in his inscriptions found at different places except the three Puri records which formed the foundation for <sup>the</sup> Late Mr. Chakravarti's conclusions. Dr. Venkatarama-  
naiah rightly refused to accept the date fixed by Late Mr. B. K. Chakra-  
varti saying that his conclusions were based upon inaccurate premises



and consequently was obliged to make certain unjustifiable corrections in the chronological data supplied by the inscriptions in order to derive what he believed to be "the precise year of Purushottamadeva's accession." <sup>137</sup> Since Mr. Chakravarti showed the tendency to correct the details given in inscriptions to suit his theory, his conclusions are to be taken with some caution. The differences between the details of the Puri records and other inscriptions of Purusottama Dēva, in the opinion of Dr. Venkataramanaiah, may be due to the existence of flaw either in the decipherment of the epigraphs or in the calculations of the chronological details contained in them. Even with regard to the texts of the Puri records published differences exist between the versions of Mitra and Chakravarti. Neither of them took the pains to publish the fascimiles. Hence there is no possibility for verification. The safest method for determining the date of Purusottamadeva's accession would be as suggested by Dr. Venkataramanaiah to leave the Puri records out of account.

The Mādala Pāñī records that Purusottama was anointed on the

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137. Proc. and Trans. of the <sup>Eighth</sup> ~~Third~~ Oriental conference, Mysore, December 1935, p.585 ff.



138  
banks of Kṛṣṇā. The story goes that "Kapilendra had eighteen sons and could not decide upon whom he should bestow his kingdom. He invoked God Jagannātha to help him in that matter. God Jagannātha appeared before him in a dream and selected ½ Puruṣōttama as his successor. So the king after informing the ministers about God's wish, retired with the boy to the banks of the Kṛṣṇā where he subsequently died on Pauskṛ. Kṛṣṇa 3, Tuesday. This anointment must have taken place sometime before 1465-66, the first regnal year of Puruṣōttama.

What necessitated Kapilendra to nominate and crown Puruṣōttama-deva in 1465-66 on the banks of Kṛṣṇā? Kapilendra came down to the south with the object of suppressing the rebels. He found his health failing and his anxiety increasing by the acts of his son Hamvira who appears to have joined hands with the rebels. A greater danger to the kingdom loomed large from the south; Although Virūpakṣa the Rāya of Vijayanagara was weak, Sāluva Hṛṣimha his Viceroy at Chandragiri

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138. Mr. Mukherjee in his article 'Historicity of Kanchi Kaveri Expedition' (Ind.His.Quarterly, March 1945, p.34 ff.) quoted a Ślōka supposed to have been composed by Puruṣōttama Gajapati himself:

परयाः प्रभवमहिमा कृष्णातीरे मम वृत्तान्  
नयिरेदं नदतो हं तदनुगाहमात्तल्लभ्य साम्राज्यम्।

This clearly shows that Puruṣōttama got the kingdom because of the favour shown to him by Kapilendra, as against his elder brother and that he was anointed on the banks of Kṛṣṇā.



began systematic expulsion of the Oriyas from the south. It is the  
139  
Munnur inscription of Dakṣiṇa Kapilēśvara Kumāra Mahāpātra dated in  
1464 that gives us the information for Oriya conquest of the south.  
140  
~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ In the same village we get Sāluva Nṛsimha's inscription  
mentioning him as ruler in 1466 A.D. This suggests that already by  
the year 1466 A.D. Sāluva Nṛsimha began his task of redeeming the  
141  
country from the foreigners. The Sāluvābhyudaya, a Sanskrit work  
gives us his programme of action. His very first campaign immediately  
after accession to the governorship of Candragiri was against the  
142  
ruler of Kalinga (Orissa) and according to inscriptions he ruled in  
South Arcot district in 1466 which was under the authority of Dakṣiṇa  
143  
Kapilēśvara Kumāra Mahāpātra in 1464. He must have reconquered that  
district from the Oriyas sometime before December 1466. The revolts  
in the Oriya Kingdom and the utter impotency of the Central Government  
all the more facilitated his task. By 1475-76 he brought under his  
144  
control the whole coast as far as Masulipatam in the north.

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139. 51 and 92 of 1917.

140. 53 of 1919.

141. Sources p.93 ff.

142. 53 of 1919.

143. 51 and 92 of 1919.

144. Numiz, For. Exp. p.501. His exploits in the east coast belong to a later period and they will be exhaustively dealt with in their proper sequence.



This rising power of Śaṅkha Nṛsiṃha threatened the very existence of Orissa kingdom, Kapilēndra whose health was failing being disappointed with his eldest son Haṁvīra, to ensure the loyalties of his officers at least to his youngest son Puruṣōttama crowned him as his successor on the banks of the Kṛṣṇā. After this incident Kapilēndra seems to have lived for some years. The news of his death reached the Bahmani court in 1470. The death must have occurred after December 14, 1466, his last known date and about Puruṣōttama's first known date. The death could in no way be taken to such a late date as 1470 A.D. Previous writers on the history of Orissa have wrongly understood the version of Muslim historians. These do not refer to the exact date of the death of the Ray of Orissa. Ju Burhan-I-Ma'asir read with <sup>account</sup> Ferishta's <sup>account</sup> lays emphasis more on the "request for help" sent to the Court of Bidar in 1470-71 than actually on the death of "Ray of Orissa" which took place earlier. In between these two years 1466 and 1470 the chronological details as given in the Madalapanji are true of Jan. 12, 1468 A.D. The conclusion is obvious. Kapilēndra died on that date.

Then why should Haṁvīra seek the assistance of Bahmani Sultān in 1470-71 and not earlier? This is easily explained. Haṁvīra who had been occupying a prominent position among the sons and nobles of the Gajapati king could carry on his struggle against his rival



brother for sometime after the death of his father. But when Purusōttama supported by the will of his late sire proved too strongg for him and when Sāluva Nṛsinha's pressure from the south became irrecistāble, it was only then he was ~~compelled~~ compelled to turn to the Bahmanis for help.





CHAPTER IV.

Purusōttama Dēva - 1468-1497.

The Crisis and Comeback.



VĪRA ŚRĪ GAJAPATI GAUDĒŚVARA ŚRĪ PURUṢŌTTAMADĒVA

MAHĀRĀYA is mentioned as ruler of Orissa in inscriptions ranging in date from 1465-<sup>1</sup>66 to 1496-<sup>2</sup>97. He succeeded Kapilēndradēva on the throne of Orissa.<sup>3</sup> It is essential to ascertain the exact relationship between Kapilēndra and Puruṣŏttama before we take up the study of his reign.

Considerable amount of discrepancy exists in the accounts of original sources regarding the birth and parentage of Puruṣŏttamadēva. Popular tradition in Orissa makes him a dāśīputra, and in the Rājavamsāvalī of Bāmunda state he is called a 'Bhōgini Nandana'<sup>4</sup> of Kapilēndra. Puruṣŏttama's inscriptions are silent regarding his parentage. But inscriptions belonging to the reign of his and successor, Pratāparudra, assert that he was the son of Kapilēndra. The Anantavaram plates,<sup>5</sup> describe Puruṣŏttama as the son of Kapilēndra.

1. No.1160, S.I.I. Vol.VI, 7th Aṅka or 5th ¶ Regnal year is dated Ś.1392.
2. 469 of 1916, 37th Aṅka or 30th regnal year is dated Ś.1418, Māla, Vaisakha Śu.11.
3. The circumstances under which he was crowned have already been discussed. See Supra p.106.
4. J.B.R.S. Vol.XXXII, Mr. Mukherji in his article on 'Purushōttama Gajapati' referred to this Rājavamsāvalī.
5. Anantavaram Plates: And.Patrika Annual, 1928, p.167-180.





"సుతాభవత్తస్ర సారేంద్రతః సః పురందరశ్రీః పురుషో  
త్ర మో నృ పః "

This is corroborated by the evidence of his <sup>6</sup>Idpulpadu, <sup>7</sup>Velichorla, <sup>8</sup>Rajavolu records. The Sarasvativilāsa gives the additional information that he was the son of Kapilendra by Pārvati.

सा पार्वती सनम गण्य गुणातिरेकं  
भूषाद्मौलि मणि रंजित पाद पीठम्  
तस्माद सूत पुरुषोत्तम नाम धेयम्  
विरुमारि तारि धरणी धर आगाधे यम् ।

Muslim chronicles also refer to him, but by a different name. Writing about the events of Orissa <sup>9</sup>Forishta observes that "Mangal Rai, a Brahman and adopted son of the 'late King' was ruling Orissa in 1470-71." Inscriptions mention Purusottama as the ruler of Orissa

6. 802 of 1922.

7. Velicherla plates: Bharati, August, 1936.

"పుల్లైస్తదియైః పురుషోత్త మంకా య్వు అభవత్  
శ్రీ పురుషోత్త మంకాః"

8. Rajavolu Plates: Bharati, 1938 August, p.237 ff.

"అనుగ్రహ త శ్రీ పురుషోత్త మస్త్రిత దీయ సుసుర్వనకాద్భ భూవ  
శి కార సా మన్య య్వు రు షోత్త మస్త్రిత కుమారం పురుషోత్తమాభ్యం"

9. Brigg's II, p.487.



during the same period. Hence Mangal Rai of Ferishta should be identical with Purusōttama Dēva of inscriptions. If so why should he call him a "Brahmin and an adopted son" of the late King?

As has been stated already, the inscriptions of Purusōttamadēva leave us entirely in darkness regarding this. His son and successor, Pratāparudra in his Sarasativilāsa and in his numerous grants asserts that that he was a son of Kapilōndra through Pārvati. We need not entirely believe the popular tradition and call him a son of a mistress. On the other hand as suggested by Mr. Mukherje, he might have been an offspring by Pārvati, 'a Phul-Bibahi wife of Kapilōndra',<sup>10</sup> and this son was very much liked by his father. Kapilōndra's attempts to safeguard the right of Purusōttama to the throne by inventing the story of his dream and the command of Jagannātha, and the śloka in the Bhuvanēśvari dandaka<sup>11</sup> composed by Purusōttama Dēva himself where in he thanks Kapilōndra for the kindness and preference shown by him in selecting him as the successor, all these lend some authenticity to the tradition cited above. Probably because of this, Ferishta, called him 'an adopted son'. His account further enables us to infer that Pārvati was a Brāhman<sup>1</sup> by birth.

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10. J.B.R.S. XXXII Parts III & IV, p.308 ff.

11. I.H.Q. Vol.XXI, No.I, March 1945.



Early Years of his reign: (1468-72 A.D.):— Kapilendra who came down to the south for suppressing the revolt of his eldest son Hamvira died in 1468 without being able to achieve his object completely.

Hamvira, who defied his own father, strongly entrenched himself in the southern province of the Orissa Kingdom. He continued his fight with Purusottama for the throne of Orissa but Purusottama then proved too strong for him. By abolishing Cankdara tax on Brahmins and by renewing the old grants, Purusottama during the early years of his reign enlisted the support of the people in Orissa and thereby strengthened his position. Hamvira's position in the southern province was seriously threatened by the northward expansion of Saluva Nrsimha. This Vijayanagara viceroy at Chandragiri, began the task of redeeming the country from the Oriyas early in 1466.

The Saluvabhayudayam describes his campaign against Kalinga (obviously

12. Probably this explains the absence of Purusottama's inscriptions of his early years in the region to the south of Simhachalam.

13. J.A.S.B. Vol.LXII, 1893, p.88 Left side No.I.

14. Ibid. Left side No.II.

15. 53 of 1919.

16. Sources p.94.

हतावशिष्टैश्च गजैरगाह्युं  
कलिङ्ग राजो युधि रविड तादरः  
सक्षैल दुर्गं तपनाध्वरोधकृत्  
विशाल सालं बहु यन्त साधनम्.



Orissa) as follows. The Kalinga ruler, it is said, after giving battle in the field, feeling that he was being overpowered shut himself up in the fort. (The work does not give the name of the fort). The forces of Nrsimha after great exertions succeeded in bringing under their control that particular fort. This fort referred to in the Sāluvaābhyaṣayam appears to be the fort of Udayagiri, the southern outpost of the Oriyas. Telugu literature of this period also supplies us abundant evidence in support of the achievements of Sāluva Nrsimha mentioned in Sāluvaābhyaṣayam. The Jaiminī-Bhāratam<sup>17</sup> gives Nrsimha the credit for having vanquished the kings of Tigula (Canarese name for Tamil) and Oddi (Orissa), suggesting how he strengthened his position. According to the Varāhapurāṇam<sup>18</sup> his general Īśvara Nāyaka conquered the forts of Udayagiri, Huttari etc.

17. Jaiminī Bhāratam.

"తెనుక భూమి ములుతెంకెలు, గజరాజున దాడి  
చెవుల పాడుల నెల్ల, శైలి పైచి  
యనమైన కండ్రావ్వున బాకుతెంచిన  
యెట్టి నెనులావులాడు రల్లి - - - - -"

18. Varāhapurāṇam.

"ఉదయాత్ర భేదించె వరుశ్రుతి నిర్మలం  
గండికాటపురంబు గదల(త్)వ్వే  
....."



The mention of Udayagiri as the first fort attacked in the series also supports the account of the Sāluvābhyudaya referred to already. Hence it is not possible to agree with late Mr. R.D. Banerje who characterises the Sanskrit work as a "standard type specimen illustrating the historical value of the work of a court Panegyrist."<sup>19</sup>

Hanvira, being thus hard pressed from the south by Sāluva Nrsimha, realised that his position was most insecure. He found Purusōttama growing more and more powerful in Orissa. He tried to check the power of Purusōttama for nearly two years but did not meet with success. Then he sought the assistance of the Bahmani Sultān in 1470-71 to humble his rival and to recover the throne of Orissa for himself.

Muslim intervention and Civil War— Ferishta supplemented by Sayed Ali gives a tolerably connected account of the affairs of Orissa during this period. From Ferishta we learn that in "the year 876 A.H. Ambur Ray, cousin of the Ray of Oorca, complained to Mahomed Shāh, that the Ray being dead, Mungal Ray, a Brahmin, his adopted son, had usurped the government in defiance of his prior claim to its inheritance: and Ambur Ray now promised, if the king would assist him with the troops to regain his right, he would become his

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19. R.D. Banerji. Hist. of Orissa I, p.308.



tributary. Mahomed Shāh who had a great desire to possess the territory of Oorea including Rājahmundry and Condapilly, thought his request favourable to his views, and by the advice of Khwāja Mahmood Gawan, having conferred the title of Nizām-ul-Moolk on Mullik Hussan Bhery, directed him to proceed with a considerable army to that quarter. On the borders of Orissa, he was joined by Ambur Ray with his troops who became the guide of the army against Mangal Ray. The usurper was defeated and Ambur Ray placed in possession of his hereditary dominions. Nizām-ul-Moolk accompanied by Ambur proceeded against Condapilly and Rājahmundry, both of which places he reduced and by orders of Mahomed Shāh having established proper military garrisons to ensure their security, he permitted Ambur Ray to depart to his own country. On this occasion Nizām-ul-Mulk on the recommendation of the Queen Mother was appointed governor of Telingāna." The author of <sup>the</sup> Burhan-I-Ma'asir describing the events of '875 A.H.' says that hearing the death news of the "Principal Raya of Telingāna" the Sultān had decided to conquer those dominions. Malik Nizām-ul-Mulk Bahri was selected as the leader for that campaign. He proceeded with his forces but was opposed by the armies of the 'infidels' more numerous than ants and locusts. Ultimately Nizām-ul-Mulk came out

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20. Briggs: II, p.487-88.



victorious and successfully reduced Rājahmundry and Kondavīdu after  
21  
great exertions.

Thus the two Muslim historians differ as regards the date and the results of the campaign. Ferishta mentions Kondapallā while according to Sayed Ali it was Kondavīdu. While Ferishta assigns the year 876 A.H. Sayed Ali puts it in 875 A.H. The Queen Mother Makhdumāh Jehān was alive, according to Ferishta, even after the campaign, and honoured Nizām-ul-Mulk after his triumphal return, while Sayed Ali commences the campaign only after her death in 875 A.H. (1470 A.D.).

Though generally Sayed Ali is more reliable than Ferishta as regards dates, in this respect he appears to have committed some error. For both the chroniclers agree that Muhammad Shāh Bahmani was engaged in a war against Konkun in 1469 A.D., Khwājāh Mahmūd Gāwān who led this campaign was busy there till at least 1470 (1875 A.H.) whence he took the port and island of Goa belonging to the Ray of Beejnuggur. This minister Ferishta continues - "after establishing strong garrisons ..... returned after <sup>an</sup> absence of three  
22  
years." Since the armies were sent to the west in 1469 Mahmūd Gāwān should have returned to the capital only in 1471-72, i.e., after three

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21. Burhan-I-Ma'asir. I.A., Vol.XXVIII, p.286-87.

22. Briggs: II, p.485.



years absence. Encouraged by the success in the recent operations, finding his armies free the Sultan <sup>might</sup> ~~should~~ have tried to interfere in the affairs of Telingana in 1471-72 and Ferishta also assigns the campaign to the same year.

Sayed Ali's description that 'in the midst of heat like flames of hell the army of the infidels marched out to oppose the army of the Sultan'<sup>23</sup> suggests that the campaign was undertaken in summer. Hence the Muslim armies must have marched for the assistance of 'Ambur' in the summer of 1471-72 A.D.

The inscriptions of Purusottama Gajapati also enable us to fix the date of Muslim intervention almost about the same time as chronicled by Ferishta. Till October 1472 A.D., Purusottama was<sup>24</sup> the acknowledged ruler of Orissa, and from that date ~~on~~ to June 1476<sup>25</sup> we don't find any inscription of that monarch any where. If the provenance of inscriptions had any bearing on the rise and fall of his fortunes; and if Ferishta was giving a true picture of events of Orissa during this period, then 'Ambur's' installation on the throne of Orissa should have taken place sometime after 1472 October.

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23. Burhan-I-Ma'asir. I.A. Vol.XXVIII, p.286 ff.

24. No.844, S.I.I. Vol.VI. No.805, Ibid. No.1153 S.I.I.Vol.V.

25. No.1159, S.I.I. Vol.VI.





Thus Hamvira sought the assistance of the Bahmani Sultān sometime about the end of the year 1471 A.D., when Khwajah Mahmūd Gawān returned from his campaigns in the west. In the months of May and June when the summer is acute in the Kṛṣṇā-Godāvari districts the battles were fought between Mangal Rai (Purusōttamadeva) and Nizām-ul-Mulk.

Fortune did not favour Purusōttamadeva with success and Hamvira was placed on the throne of Orissa. For the help rendered by the Bahmanis the new Rāya of Orissa was obliged to cede to them the districts Rājahmundry and Kondapalli. (Kondaviḍu according to Sayed Ali).

Kondaviḍu and Kondapalli both places were kept under the charge of Dakṣiṇa Kapilēśvara Kumāra Mahāpātra in 1464, but in the revolt of the same year he joined his father against Kapilēndra. The account of Ferishta suggest that he continued to rule those places even after Hamvira's reinstatement as a vassal of Muḥammad Shāh Bahmani.<sup>26</sup> In recent years this story of Ferishta was seriously questioned. Late Mr. R.D. Banerji completely refused to accept Ferishta's version of war of succession in Orissa. He wrote "Ferishta's account of

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26. Writing about the revolt of the garrison at Kondapalli in 1475-76 A.D., Ferishta refers to one 'Hamir Oriya' "a former subordinate of Muhammed Shāh". This chief seems to be identical with Dakṣiṇakapilēśvara Kumāra Hamvira Mahāpātra. Hence he must have acknowledged the suzerainty of the Bahmani Sultān earlier.



the Orissan wars of the Bahmani Sultāns bears on it the stamp of untruth.<sup>27</sup> At the time of Kapilendra's death Muhammad's age could not have been more than eighteen and he was perhaps too young to take any real interest in the disputed succession of a powerful neighbouring state.<sup>28</sup> Though he disagreed with Ferishta about the causes ~~for~~ muslim intervention he agreed with him regarding its results. He attached more value to the account of Sayed Ali who is silent about the disputed succession to which Ferishta pointedly refers in his chronicle and attributes it more to the desire of Sultān Mahammad Shāh who was anxious to secure possession of the Gajapati territories. In his view the story of disputed succession was a 'myth'. In support of this he cited the evidence of the inscription on the left hand side of the Jaya Vijaya gate of the Temple of Jagannātha at Pūrī which was incised on the 2nd Anka of the reign of Puruṣōttama, i.e., the first year of his accession. The date of the inscription was 12th April 1470, and he argued that 'as the same Purushottama has been proved to have reigned uninterruptedly upto 1496-97, Ferishta's statement about Mangal Rai being defeated and replaced by Ambur Ray by Nizam-<sup>Hasan</sup> ul-Mulk Bāhri can be rejected without further consideration.'<sup>28</sup>

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27. R.D. Banerji. Hist. of Orissa, I, p.305.

28. R.D. Banerji. Hist. of Orissa, p.307 - italics ours.



These statements of Late Mr. Banerji need careful examination. The versions of the Muslim chroniclers except for a few minor details agree with each other - Sayed Ali's account is fragmentary, while that of Ferishta is replete with facts. Ferishta is not contradicting the story of Sayed Ali but he is supplementing it with more particulars. Hence his account of the war of succession, cannot be dismissed 'as untrue'. His next objection that the Sultan was 'too young to take any active interest in the disputed succession of a powerful neighbouring state' also cannot stand careful scrutiny. The Sultan was not a minor. If he could take interest in a war of aggression he could with better reason intervene in a war of succession on invitation. Further what has the age of the Sultan to do with policy of the state? He was guided by old and wise ministers. In fact he did not lead the campaign himself but it was entrusted to an old Veteran Nizam-ul-Mulk Bahri 'a favourite of Sultan Humayun Shah'.

His difficulty for accepting the story of disputed succession is the existence of an inscription in Jagannatha temple at Puri dated in his 2nd Anka or the first regnal year. Purusottama did not succeed to the throne in 1470 as Late Mr. R.D. Banerji had calculated. The coronation took place much earlier. In the earlier chapter it has been <sup>shown</sup> seen that the Puri records which form the basis of late Mr. Banerji's

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29\* The circumstances under which Purusottama was crowned have already been dealt with. See Supra page 1064

30. See Supra p. 102.



objections are unreliable. His statement "that the same Purusottama has been proved to have reigned uninterruptedly upto 1496-97" is not supported by facts. He has not given the authority "which proved his uninterrupted reign". As has been suggested already Purusottama's inscriptions reveal a gap in his rule from 1472 to 1476 and this is exactly the period when Hamvira and his Bahmani ally had the upper-hand as chronicled by Ferishta. Late Mr. Banerji's objections are without foundation. Ferishta's account is not garnished, nor does it bear on it the stamp of untruth. The Katakariya Vamsavalī and the Kalīyat of Jagannathan <sup>31</sup> also support the story of Ferishta, when they suggest by implication the fight for the throne of Orissa after Kapilendra's death.

Thus Purusottama lost his kingdom after six years of rule, and was obliged to seek shelter in forests. Hamvira became king but the kingdom was very much reduced in extent because the Bahmani Sultan took the southern portion of the kingdom as compensation for the help he rendered to Hamvira.

Hamvira who thus became king of Orissa could not enjoy the fruits of his labours for long. Purusottama once again challenged

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31. Further Sources, II, p.86 ff.



him for the throne. According to the <sup>32</sup>Sarasvatīvilāsa, he successfully brought his rival Hamvira to his knees. This success over Hamvira he must have achieved sometime before June 1476 A.D., when Hamvira was left alone and his ally the Bahmani Sultan was otherwise occupied with his own wars against Vijayanagara.

We learn from Ferishta that immediately after the Orissan campaign Mahammad Shah III turned his attention towards the west when in the year 877 A.H. (1472 A.D.) "Birkana Ray, of Belgaum revolted and took possession of the island of Goa" at the instigation of the Ray of Beejnuggur.<sup>33</sup> The Sultan collected his forces and marched against the fortress of Belgaum. After strenuous fighting the fort was taken. Belgaum with its dependencies were added to the estates of Khwajah Mahmūd Gawān. Continuing the account of the campaign,<sup>34</sup>

32. यो इस्मीरमदारिपुं समतनो लादाब्जपीठानं  
स्त्रोयं श्री पुरुषोत्तमो गजपतिः दुर्वागिन्नासास्यदम्.

Sarasvatī Vilāsa.

33. Briggs, II, p.491.

34. The account of Sayed Ali disagrees with Ferishta about the dates of this campaign and the famine that visited Deccan during this period. According to him the campaign was undertaken in 1474 A.D., and to the same year he assigns the Bijapur famine. (I.A.XXVIII, p.287-88). But as later events prove Ferishta's dates are nearer truth and in agreement with other available data.



Ferishta writes <sup>that</sup> when the royal standard reached the city of <sup>Bijapur</sup> ~~Bijapur~~  
 peer the Sultan at the request of Khwajah Mahmud Gawan halted to  
 repose ~~from~~ his fatigues ..... the king would have willingly  
 remained there during the rainy season but for the severe drought  
 that had prevailed through out the Deccan, that the wells dried up  
 and the king contrary to his inclination was obliged to move with  
 his army to Ahmadabad Bidur.<sup>35</sup> Describing the famine he writes "no  
 rain fell during the next year either and the towns in consequence  
 became almost depopulated. Many of the inhabitants died <sup>of famine</sup> and numbers  
 emigrated for food to Malwa, Jajhuggur, and Guzrat. In Telingana,  
 Marhatt, and throughout the Bahmani dominions no grain was sown for  
 two years and on the third when the Almighty showed his mercy upon  
 the earth scarcely any farmer remained in the country to cultivate  
 the <sup>35</sup>lands." For more than two years i.e., 1472-75 A.D., the  
 country suffered from severe famine. This situation in the Bahmani  
 kingdom, which precluded any help being rendered to Hamvira from that  
 side proved to be the best opportunity for Purusottama to reestablish  
 his authority. He defeated Hamvira and took possession of the kingdom  
 sometime before June 1476 <sup>36</sup>A.D.

35. Briggs, II, p.493-94.

36. No. 4459 S.I.I. Vol.VI.



Hamvira who was thus defeated by Purusottama was allowed to go to Khimeḍi, where he ruled as a vassal of Purusottama.<sup>37</sup> The brother thus got reconciled. Harahari Patra, son ~~of~~ or grandson<sup>38</sup> of this Hamvira, is mentioned in an inscription at Kondavidu dated in the reign of Pratāparudra, son of Purusottama and it proves the cordial relationship between the two collateral branches.

Purusottama's Conquests:— Before taking up the campaigns of Purusottama it is essential to explain the condition of Kṛṣṇā-Godāvari doab during the period 1472-78 that gave the necessary opportunity for him to launch upon a war of aggression.

During this period several important changes occurred in this region and the political equilibrium was affected by the intrusion of a new power. We have seen how Śāluva Nṛsimha threatened Orissa Kingdom from the south as early as 1466-67. He gradually extended his power to the north at the expense of Orissa during its internecine wars. While Sultan Muhammad was busy in reinstating Hamvira on the throne of Orissa and conquering for himself the districts of Rājahmundry and Kondapalli, Śāluva Nṛsimha also cut-out for himself

~~the districts of Rājahmundry and Kondapalli~~

37. L.R. Vol.9, 468-471.

38. Epi.Ind. Vol.VI, p.230 ff.



a large slice of Orissa territory. He seems to have occupied the coastal regions as far as Masulipatam in the north, sometime before 1476. In the words of Ferishta <sup>Nursing Ray</sup> "Haresingarayya was a powerful Raya possessing the country lying between the Carnatic and Tulingana extending along the sea coast Muchlyputtun (fish town) and had added much of the Beejnuggur territory to his own by conquest together with several strong forts. He had frequently excited the Zamindars on the Bahmani frontier to rebel; and the officers on the borders unable to control his power had more than once represented his conduct to the Court which had at length induced the king to attack him."<sup>39</sup>

The situation in 1475 seems to be as follows: The region as far as Masulipatam along the coast was occupied by Saluva Hrsimha. Hrsimha was aggressive and hence a conflict between the two was imminent. Thus the main fight seems to be between Hrsimha and the Bahmani Sultan for the possession of Telugu Districts. But Saluva Hrsimha had at his command the whole of the resources from the south while the Bahmani kingdom specially during these years was experiencing a severe famine, preventing all possibilities of waging a successful war.

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39. Briggs, II, p.498-99.





At this juncture Puruṣōttama not only got back his throne by force from Hanvira, but also attempted at the recovery of the lost provinces. About this attempt of Puruṣōttama Gajapati there is a very popular legend in Orissa. According to that Puruṣōttama led a dashing raid against Kānchi and married by force the daughter of the ruler of Kānchi named Padmāvati. From there he is said to have<sup>40</sup> married away a number of idols including Sākṣi Gōpāla. It is very difficult to ascertain the historicity of this legend. But a more authentic history is available in the Muslim chronicles. Ferishta, Sayed Ali, and Nizāmuddin Ahmad, with certain minor differences, give us a connected account of the incidents about Orissa during this period. According to the author of Burhan-I-Ma'asir, the Bahmani officer Nizām-ul-Mulk Bahri stationed at Rājahmundry was attacked by the Ray of Orissa with a large force of foot and horse. This Muslim governor being unable to cope with the enemy owing to his superior numbers fled towards<sup>41</sup> Mazirābad. The account of Nizāmuddin is very confused. He agreed with Sayed Ali in all details and placed the invasion in 880 A.H.<sup>42</sup> Ferishta gives the account in greater detail. According to him when famine was rampant in<sup>the</sup> Deccan, the Bahmani garrison at Kondapalli revolted against the Muslim governor of that place and after killing him made over the fort to one 'Hammir

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40. For detailed discussion about this story see Appendix III.

41. Burhan-I-Ma'asir. I.A. Vol.XXVIII, p.288.

42. Tabaqat-I-Akbari, III, p.103-4.



Orya a person originally patronized by Muhammad Shah.<sup>43</sup> This man sent a message to the Rāya of Orissa (i.e., Puruṣōttama-dēva) informing him of the weakness of the Bahmani kingdom and that it was opportune for him to recover his hereditary dominions in Telingāna. He also promised his support on condition that he should be allowed to share the conquests made from the Muslims. Thus in spite of apparent differences among these Muslim chroniclers the events appear to have moved on the following lines.

Puruṣōttama was waiting for a favourable opportunity for the recovery of the Southern province of the Gajapati kingdom. The famine in Deccan with its consequent results afforded him a good opportunity. Added to that was the mutinous condition of the Bahmani garrison at Kondapalli which killed their general and made over the fort to Hamira Orya. This man had actually sent an invitation to the Rāya of Orissa (Puruṣōttama) to invade the Kṛṣṇā-Gōdāvari doab.

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43. Briggs' Translation of this passage in *Farishta* is erroneous. He translated it as 'Bhimraj'. It is not 'Bhimraj' but Hamvira. Cf. Brajendranath De.Tr. of *Tahqiq-i-Akbari*, VII, p.103, footnote and Dr. N. Venkataramanaiah's article on 'Puruṣōttama Gajapati' in Proc. of the 8th Oriental conference. This 'Hamvira Oriya' is evidently Dakṣiṇa Kapilōśvara Kumāra Hamvira Mahāpātra who had bowed before the invasion of Muhammad Shah III in 1472-73 A.D. and had accepted his overlordship.  
See *Supra* p. 110.



The Zamindars of Telingāna also seem to have made common cause with them and revolted against the authority of the Sultan.

44

Purusōttamadeva was at Simhāchalam on 23rd of June 1476, probably on his way to Rājahmundry, propitiating God Nṛsimha and offering him some gifts evidently to bless him with success.

<sup>account</sup>  
Ferishta<sup>2</sup> read with Burhan-I-Ma'asir makes us understand that there was an Oriya invasion upon the south eastern portion of the Bahmani dominions sometime either in the latter part of the year 1476 or early in 1477 A.D., and as a result of this the Bahmani Sultan temporarily lost Rājahmundry and Kondapalli.

Just at this time Saluva Nṛsimha who was already in possession of the east coast as far as Masulipatam appears to have made an attempt to conquer the district of Rājahmundry on his own account and for that purpose he advanced with a large army and encamped on the bank of the river Gōdāvari.

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1159  
44. No. 205, S.I.I. Vol. VI.

45. Sayed Ali and Nizamuddin say that the fort of Rājahmundry was captured by Purusōttama and his agent 'Rai Man' (Tabaqat-I-Akhari) was left to defend it. But according to Ferishta the fort of Rājahmundry was threatened by the Gajapati armies but was not captured.



Muhammad Shāh III with the greatest speed possible assembled an army ~~at Rajahmundry~~, and by forced marches arrived within the sight <sup>46</sup> of the fortress of Rājahmundry. According to Ferishta the Ray of Orissa who was busy with the siege of the fortress, seeing the Sultān at the head of the forces retreated towards his own dominions. But according to Sayed Ali the fort was in charge of the agent of the Ray of Orissa and it was taken by Muhammad Shāh after great exertions. The Ray was pursued far into his dominions. At last a treaty was concluded between the two according to the terms of which, the Bahmani Sultān recovered his territories and got 25 elephants from the Rāya of Orissa. Purusōttama promised not to support the Zamindars of Telingāna in future. The district of Rājahmundry was once again bestowed upon Nizām-ul-Mulk Bahri.

Sayed Ali writes that "notwithstanding <sup>all this army and</sup> the pomp and pride and preparation, when Narasimha Rāya heard of the arrival of the Sultān's army, thinking it advisable to avoid meeting their attack, he elected to take <sup>to</sup> <sup>47</sup> flight." We have seen Sūruva Nrsimha preparing himself for a major conflict with the Bahmani Sultān for the possession of the Krsnā-Godāvari doab. But Muslim chroniclers record his flight when actually they came face to face on the banks of the Godāvari. Was

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46. Briggs II, p.495.

47. Burhan-I-Ma'asir. I.A., XXVIII, p.288.



the Bahmani Sultān so very formidable in 1477 so as to necessitate Nrsimha, who came there with great preparations, to take to flight without giving battle? The description of Bahmani kingdom as preserved in the Muslim chronicles does not warrant any such conclusion. The country was just reviving from the effects of a severe famine, 'the army reduced in numbers', their resources at the 'lowest ebb'. The Sultān could not have been an equal match to Nrsimha. But what made him withdraw without giving battle? We have no information to answer this question. We know however, from the trend of the later events, that his ultimate goal was the throne of Vijayanagara. He was despoiling the Empire piece-meal. As a part of this programme he occupied the entire coastal region and reached Rājahmundry. Here he found Muhammad Shāh, who had just then arrived at some understanding with the Gajapati ruler, encamped with his entire army on the otherside of the river Gōdāvari. Nrsimha might have been unnerved with the prospect of meeting the combined armies of the two, which was likely to upset his ultimate objective. So with a view to conserve his forces for achieving his life's aim he might have retreated.

However, Nrsimha withdrew from the banks of the Gōdāvari without giving battle. Once again Muslim authority was reestablished at Rājahmundry and Kondapalli and their dependencies. In this



connection Ferishta informs us that the Sultān remained at Rājahmundry for three years settling the country and establishing military posts on the frontiers. But Sayed Ali says that the Sultān after the conclusion of the war returned to the capital. From 1477-80 A.D. the Sultān was busy with the settlement of the conquered country and bringing under his control the whole of Telingāna by expelling all the refractory Zamindars. He assigned their estates to his own nobles and Ferishta informs us that Rājahmundry, Kondapalli, with several other places were entrusted to Nizām-ul-Mulk Bahri and Warangal and other districts he conferred on Azim Khān.

Warangal we know was taken by Hāmīra in 1460-61 A.D., since ~~it~~ then it was under the suzerainty of the Oriya rulers. The Velama chief Linga of Dēvarakonda continued to rule his estates as a vassal of Kapilēndra. Subsequently in 1471 when Rājahmundry and other places were conquered by Mahmūd Shāh once again they passed under the authority of the Bahmani Sultān. Probably during the famine of 1473-75 they were put to severe suffering by the unruly Muslim officers and revolted against the authority of the Sultān; they made common cause with the army at Kondapalli and sought the assistance of the Oriya ruler. This explains the existence of the clause in the subsequent treaty between Muhammad Shāh III and Puruṣōttama that the Oriya ruler should never on any future occasion assist the



<sup>48</sup>  
Zamindars of Talingāna.' These Zamindars were expelled and as has  
been observed already their estates were assigned to some of the  
grantees of the Court.<sup>49</sup>

The history of the Velama chiefs subsequent to the battle of  
Dēvarakonda is obscure and they are not heard of again. The leader-  
ship of the family "went to a younger branch and the scene of their  
activities also shifted to Karnāṭaka (probably during the years  
1475-78) where they played a humble role of subordinate chiefs  
dependent on the Rāyās of Vijayanagara."<sup>50</sup>

Thus Purusōttama's attempt at the recovery of Southern  
provinces namely, Rājahmundry and Kondavidu proved abortive and  
once again Muslim authority was firmly established in these regions.

<sup>51</sup>  
Mr. G. Ramadass writing about these events during the early  
years of Purusōttama's reign, questioned the truth of the accounts  
of Muslim historians regarding the success of Nizām-ul-Mulk Bahri in  
his campaigns against Orissa undertaken in the summer of 1471 A.D.  
He condemned their accounts as 'myth', and argued that "Bahri might

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48. Briggs, II, p.496.

49. Ibid. p.493.

50. Velusōtivāri Vamsāvali, Introduction, p.44.

51. J.B.R.S. Vol.XXXII, part I, p.32.



have been compelled to submit and retire", for otherwise if he was really successful in his attempts, he ought to have strengthened his possessions by establishing strong military garrisons instead of moving about with armies between Kondavidu and Rajahmundry. To support this surmise, he identified the Hammira Mahārīpu, who is said to have been subdued by Purusōttama in <sup>52</sup>'Sarasvativilāsa', with Bahri "who had become an 'Amir' by the investment of new robe by the Sultān before he was despatched against Telingāna - 'Amir' is made 'Hammira' in Sanskrit."

It is difficult to agree with Mr. Ramadass and condemn the accounts of Muslim chronicles as 'myth' or accept his identification of Hammira of Sarasvativilāsa with Bahri. Ferishta as well as Sayed Ali give us a fairly connected account of the events of Orissa during this period. Both of them assert that the Coastal Telugu districts were occupied by Muhammad Shah. <sup>53</sup>Ferishta whose account is more elaborate mentions that 'Ambar' was placed on the throne of Orissa. The gaps in Purusōttama's reign of Orissa as evidenced by his inscriptions do indirectly strengthen the statements of Muslim chroniclers. Neither inscriptions nor literature of the period,

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52. Sarasvatī Vilāsa.

53. Burhan-I-Ma'asir. I.A., XXVIII p.288. These districts were under the direct authority of Bahri till atleast 1475.76, when Rajahmundry was attacked by Purusōttama deva.





give us any evidence to the existence of the Gajapati authority in those regions. The Muslim chroniclers assert that they were under the rule of the Bahmani Sultān. Since we have no other evidence to prove the contrary, it is reasonable to believe the account of the <sup>M</sup>uslim historians. Hence it is not easy to condemn their accounts as 'myth'.

His identification of 'Hammira' of <sup>The</sup> Sarasvatīvilāsa with Bāhri who had become an 'Amir' is too far fetched. Hammira of the Sarasvatī Vilāsa and his defeat at the hands of Purusōttama have nothing to do with Bāhri. The verse in the Sarasvatī Vilāsa, has reference to a later incident. Hammira was not the Sanskrit form of 'Amir' but was only a variant of Hamvira, son of Kapilendra and a powerful rival of Purusōttama for the throne of Orissa. He is mentioned in several inscriptions dated in the reign of Kapilendra. Hence, the conclusions of Mr. Ramadoss are not convincing and the stand taken by him is untenable.

Purusōttama's Second Campaign: Immediately after the completion of the war against Orissa, Muhammad Shāh Bahmani wanted to invade the territories of ~~Narasimha~~ to punish him for "provoking and exciting the Zamindars on the Bahmani frontier to rebel" and for having 'shown delay and remissness in proving his sincerity towards the royal court

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54. Briggs, II, p.499.



by sending presents and <sup>55</sup> Hal-bah'. Actually in 1480 the people of Kondavīdu rose in revolt; having sought the protection of Narsinga, completely withdrew from their allegiance to the Sultān. The Sultān hearing the news marched towards the kingdom of Vijayanagara in November 1480, and arrived at the fortress of Kondavīdu. The rebels submitted without opposition and they were pardoned. The Sultān then marched into the territory of <sup>Narsimha</sup> ~~Narsimha~~ and encamped at 'Malur', the greatest fort of that country situated at about a distance of forty farsangs (136 miles) from Kondavīdu. Narsimha did not engage him in battle. The chroniclers inform us that <sup>the</sup> Sultān made a dashing raid against Kānchi on 12th March 1481 and returned to his <sup>56</sup> camp (evidently 'Malur'). It was at this camp that the conspirators gained his ear and brought about the destruction of his famous minister Mahmūd Gawān. They presented to the Sultān letters purporting to be from the Khwaja Jahān to Narsimha, "full of treachery and ingratitude". The Sultān without giving a thought to verify those complaints ordered the destruction of the minister on 5th April 1481 <sup>57</sup> A.D.

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55. Burhan-I-Ma'asir. I.A., XXVIII p.289.

56. Briggs, II, p.500-501; Burhan-I-Ma'asir, I.A., XXVIII, p.291.

57 "As martyrdom to love is glorious here and hereafter happy should I be to be carried death from this field."

~~57~~ This verse quoted by Sayed Ali (I.A., XXVIII, p.291), suggest that the minister met with his death in the field.



The relations between Sāluva Narasimha and Mahmūd Shāh were extremely <sup>n</sup>strained at this time. The Sultān led a dashing expedition to the south to plunder the rich temple at Kānchi. This he wanted to accomplish in the shortest possible time with minimum risk and loss. He was infact anxious to avoid a fight at the temple if he could and the temple was actually left unguarded because Narasimha did not anticipate this. The Sultān returned to his camp with much booty but he was not destined to carry it to his capital; for he suffered a terrible defeat at the hands of Iśvara Nāyaka, the Commander-in-Chief of Narasimha at Kandukuru<sup>58</sup> in Nellore District, probably on his way to Bidar. The situation on

58. Varahapurāṇam.

నరసిం గక్షిప్త పాటపంపు నుడు గొనఁ జేసి దండెత్తి యీ  
 వైర భూం భక్తి బెడం ద కాటయవనాశ్చ క్రాంత మున్ గోమఁ  
 గరం గంఘనఁ నాల్ల పట్టుచాన వేకం గండుకూర వ్రాం  
 తర సేమంఘన జక్త గాన అక డుర్వాంతాఠిసంతానమన్.

Pārijātāpaharanam, verse 10.

రాజులనె త్తుటంబర శురా ముడు ప్రంతలసేసె కెరు మూఁ  
 డే జగత్ గణంప నదియెంత తెవిన్చియ మల్లిన సుమా  
 ద్రై యుడు కండుకూరి కడఁ దిప్పుయ యాశ్చరు నేజిననెఱ్ఱు  
 రాజు బెడం ద కాటయవనాశ్చ క్రాంత వదీ సహస్రమున్.



the eve of the battle of Kandukūr appears to have been very desperate which led Muhammad Shāh to suspect the loyalty of even a devoted minister like Mahmūd Gawān and to execute him.

This defeat at the battle of Kandukūru in April 1481 marks the beginning of the decline of the glory and strength of the Bahmani Sultāns. Subsequent to this date the kingdom once again became a prey to party factions and intrigue, and the Sultān himself became a tool in the hands of influential nobles. Muhammad Shāh vainly hoped that Nizām-ul-Mulk would supply the place of Mahmūd Gawān and with that object showered upon him honours and presents. He conferred on ~~that~~ the Ādil Khān Bijapur, the Jagir of the late Khwajah Jahān. Fattāh-ul-Jah Imād-ul-Mulk and Khodawand Khān were confirmed in their estates. The preferential treatment accorded to Nizām-ul-Mulk, by the Sultān unfortunately rendered him more and more an object of jealousy and hatred. Muhammad saw before his eyes the gradual dismemberment of his kingdom. With a view to bring about concord among his nobles and divert their attention from selfish pursuits, he prepared for a "Jihad against the infidels." Having collected an army, he marched against the territory of Vijayanagara. Ādil Khān and others joined the Sultan. While they were on the move, the Sultān died on the way in March 1482, nominating his son Mahmūd as his successor.



M Mahmūd Shāh ascended the throne at the age of twelve and the officers at the Court, viz., Nizām-ul-Mulk Bahri, Kowām-ul-Mulk and Kāsim Barid took the usual oaths of allegiance. Some of the chief nobles including the Ādil Khān were not present. With the accession of Mahmūd Shāh began the duel between the foreigners headed by Yūsuf Ādil Khān and the Deccani nobles led by Nizām-ul-Mulk Bahri, which finally led to the disruption of the Bahmani State itself.

From now the Gajapati had no fear of an attack from this quarter. On the otherhand tables were turned and Purusōttama who was ever eager to reconquer the districts of Rājahmundry and Kondavīdu, took advantage of the troubles of the Bahmani Sultān. He reconquered the whole territory including Kondavīdu, sometime before October 59 1484 A.D., for an inscription dated in 1484 records that Azamākhānā (Azim Khān), one of his generals, made a gift of the village Mutukumilli in the Vinikonda Tāluq of the Guntur District for the merit of the king Purusōttama dōva on the occasion of a lunar eclipse.

We learn from Ferishta that Dilāwar Khān, the Abyssinian, was appointed as Governor of Rājahmundry according to the arrangement arrived at by the important nobles in the beginning of Mahmūd Shāh's

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59. 296 of 1935-36.



reign. As Purusōttama was in possession of the east coast as far south as Vinukonda in 1484, he must have conquered this region from these Bahmani officers who were in charge of those districts. Dilāwar Khān after his unsuccessful attempt on the life of Nizām-ul-Mulk escaped to Khandesh (Burhānpur) and not to his government, i.e.,  
60  
Rājahmundry. This also suggests that Purusōttama barred his way in this direction.

Perishta, however, creates an impression that Rājahmundry was in the Muslim hands. Writing about the death of Adil Khān Deccani in 1486 A.D., he observes <sup>that</sup> "Kawam-ul-Mulk Junior came by forced marches from Rājahmundry, ~~took the city of Warangal~~ <sup>that took the city of Warangal</sup> and established himself in Telingana."  
61  
Nizām-ul-Mulk accompanied by the king marched towards Warangal on which Kawam-ul-Mulk fell back on Rājahmundry. But the same writer, earlier, mentions that he was appointed to the government of Warangal, while Adil Khān Deccani was only a Deputy Governor of  
62  
the same place. Sayed Ali also refers to these incidents and says that "the Sultan marched with his army to war against the country of Telingana and arrived as far as the fortress of Warangal."  
63  
Thus there is lot of confusion in the accounts of these muslim chroniclers

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60. Briggs, II, p.528.

61. Ibid, p.529.

62. Briggs, II, p.524.

63. Burhan-I-Ma'asir. I.A., Vol.XXVIII, p.306.



and hence we cannot place much reliance on their account about these particular events.

Whoever might have been in charge of Rājahmundry, be it Dilāwar Khān or Kawān-ul-Mulk Junior, the district was conquered by Puruṣōttama sometime before 1484 A.D., and this is supported by the evidence of the Ganti plates of Puruṣōttama<sup>64</sup>deva of later date, which records a donation of a village in Rājahmundry area.

PURUṢŌTTAMA DEVA AND SALUVA NRSIMHA.

(Saluva Nrsimha's forces, after the battle of Kandakūru, strengthened his authority in Udayagiri Rājya. The region immediately to the north of Udayagiri and south of Vinikonda, appears to have been under an independent chief.<sup>65</sup>) One of the inscriptions dated S.1404 (1482 A.D.) hailing from Chodaluvāda in the Ongole Taluq, records the revival of a certain agrahāra grant by one Sarvēpalli Timmāreddi entitled 'Mindūrāya Sūratrāna'. This agrahāra, it is said in the record, had been formerly a gift of the reign of Praudha-dōvarāya (a Vijayanagara sovereign). The renewal was necessitated probably by its lapse during Muslim occupation of the land. The title 'Mindūrāya Sūratrāna' assumed by the donor of this record is

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1900  
64. M.E.M., Part II, p.24, para 65 - Ganti plates of Puruṣōttama<sup>64</sup>deva.  
65. 211 of 1894.



suggestive of the reconquest of this region by the Hindu forces about 1482 A.D. He has not referred to any overlord, and as such, it is difficult to ascertain whether he was making the grant as an independent ruler or in the capacity of a subordinate.

(Purusōttama Gajapati, we have seen, brought under his sway the whole country as far south as Mutukumilli in Vinikonda taluq by October 1484. The donor of this record Sarvāpalli Timmāreddi appears as a vassal of Purusōttama in another record dated Ś. 1418 from the same region. Purusōttama, who marched to the south in October of 1484, might have subdued this local chief, who must have acknowledged the overlordship of the Gajapati. Rāvor Gundlakamma became the southern most limit of the Gajapati authority. Purusōttama, strengthened his hold over these regions, and gained the sympathy and support of the people by abolishing the taxes on marriages etc. From 1485-89 he engaged himself in consolidating his position in the newly conquered regions. )

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66. 469 of 1916: Ś. 1418-Nala-Vaibāhika Ś. "(23 April 1496 A.D.)

67. Kondavīdu Ins. of Purusōttama. Mac.Mss.

68. The Pōtavaram grant (Epi.Ind. Vol.XIII, p.156-57) dated 1489 A.D., still refers to Gundlakamma as the southern border. The conquest of Udayagiri was not accomplished by that time.





Reconquest of Udayagiri:— Udayagirirājya was administered by Pūsapāti Basavabhūpāla son of Tamma, who had distinguished himself in the service of Kapilēndradēva. During Śāluva Nṛsimha's northward expansion, his resistance proved ineffective before the superior numbers and he was obliged to accept Nṛsimha's overlordship. But he did not continue in that position for long. )

( Puruṣōttama after firmly establishing his authority in Koṇḍavīdurājya, prepared himself to cross swords with Nṛsimha for the possession of Udayagiri. ) The Sarasvatīvalāsa and inscriptions of Pretaparudra, assert that Puruṣōttama captured alive Śāluva Nṛsimha in battle, (जीवगाहमति दगृह्य समरे कणी टमूमीयवं and the latter purchased his freedom by surrendering Udayagiri. Basava Bhūpāla making common cause with Puruṣōttama fought against Nṛsimha. The joint poets Nandi Mallayya and Chanta Singayya in their 'Prabōdha Cēndrōdava' dedicated to Gaṅgamantri, the minister of Basavarāja, refers to Basavabhūpa's achievements thus:

.....  
ಯೆರಾಜು ರಯ್ಯ ಕ್ಕೊ ಮಲಮಿ ವಿಳೆ ದಿಂಪೆ,  
ಗೊಲಾ ಪೊಲಮ ಕಾಂ ತುಕಾರಮ ದಗ  
ಗೊಲಾ ಅಪರ ಥಾಣೆ ಗಡಿ ದುರ್ಮುಲಕೆಲ್ಲಿ  
ನೆರಾಜು ವ (ಪ್ರ)ಂಪ್ರ ಪಾರು ಅಲ್ಪ  
.....  
ರಟ್ಟಿ ಸರಾ ಕಾಲ ತಿ ಪ್ರ)ರಾಯನಿ ಕುಮಾರ  
ವಿರಬಸವ ಕ್ಷಮಾ ನ (ಕಿ ವಿ)ಗುನಿ .....



One of the significant titles, given to Basavarāya "నృసింహ నృపతి

వశీకరణ విద్యా కరణ. " in the above work also supports that Nrsimha was sufficiently humbled by Purusōttama, overlord of Basava Bhūpala.

The date of the Campaign:— The exact date and the time of this battle are difficult to fix. The Sarasvatī Vilāsa, and Anantavaram Plates of Pratāparudra, both of them refer to Nrsimha as the ruler of Karnāta.

"యస్మై నిత్యేతర ప్రతాప దహన జ్ఞానా యమా న ధవజ  
స్తంభా బద్ధ కుసంభరక్రవసనస్త్రికా విభస్న ద్విశే,  
సంధాయా శయయాచనాంభరిమహా దత్తాదయా ప్రంభయా  
దాత్రా నం ముముచే నృసింహనృపతిః కర్ణాట దేశాధిపః"

69  
Anantavaram Plates.

Saluva Nrsimha with full imperial titles is mentioned in an inscription dated 1486 A.D., and hence the battle between Gajapati Purusōttama and Saluva Nrsimha should be dated subsequent to 1486 A.D.

(Udayagiri remained under the authority of the Gajapatis till it was reconquered by Kṛṣṇarāya.) Gajapati power in that quarter was formidable enough: Saluva Nrsimha, in spite of his vast resources

69. Anantavaram Plates. Andhra Patrika Annual, 1928.

70. E.C. Tumkur No.54.



and the services of Veteran generals like Tuluva Narasa, Araviti Bukka and Nagama Nayaka at his command failed to take back these regions from the Gajapati.) At his death Muniz informs us "there remained three fortresses, which had revolted from his rule and which he never was able to take, which were these - Rachol, and Odegary and Kondolgi - which have large and rich territories .....<sup>71</sup>" etc.

Purusottama, though he lost everything during the early years of his reign, was fortunate enough to reconquer the whole territory as far as Pennar in the south during his last years. He had the good fortune of bequeathing to his son Pratāparudra, the kingdom intact, as he had received from his father Kapilendra.

Subsequent to the conquest of Udayagiri Purusottama spent his time in the company of poets and intellectuals of the period. Himself highly accomplished, he took delight in the company of eminent scholars and often took part in their interesting discussions.

नीरजी पुरुषोत्तमो गजपतिर्विद्वत्समामंदिरे  
शेषो निक्कमिणां कथासु नितरां शेषादिभूषेविभुः।

Sarasvati Vilāsa.

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70. For. Imp. p.307-8. Sewall has correctly identified these forts as Raichur, Udayagiri and Kondavidu.



(Death:-- The Katakaraia Vamsāvali<sup>72</sup> (says that Purusōttama ruled for twenty five years) <sup>योग</sup> अस्य राज्यकालः पंचविंशति वर्षाणि एतद्योगे गतशकाब्दे रक्षाक्षि मनुमिताः

But the Jagannātham Kaiḥiyat<sup>73</sup> mentions that Purusōttama ruled for thirty years. His last known date from inscriptions is April<sup>74</sup> 1497. Pratāparudra's first year also falls in the same year<sup>75</sup> and hence Purusōttama should have died in the later half of the year 1497 A.D.

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72. Further Sources, p.94 ff.

73. Ibid, p.98.

74. S.I.I. Vol.VI. No.1162.

75. J.A.S.B. LXII. 1893, left side No.VI, 41st Anka.





CHAPTER V.

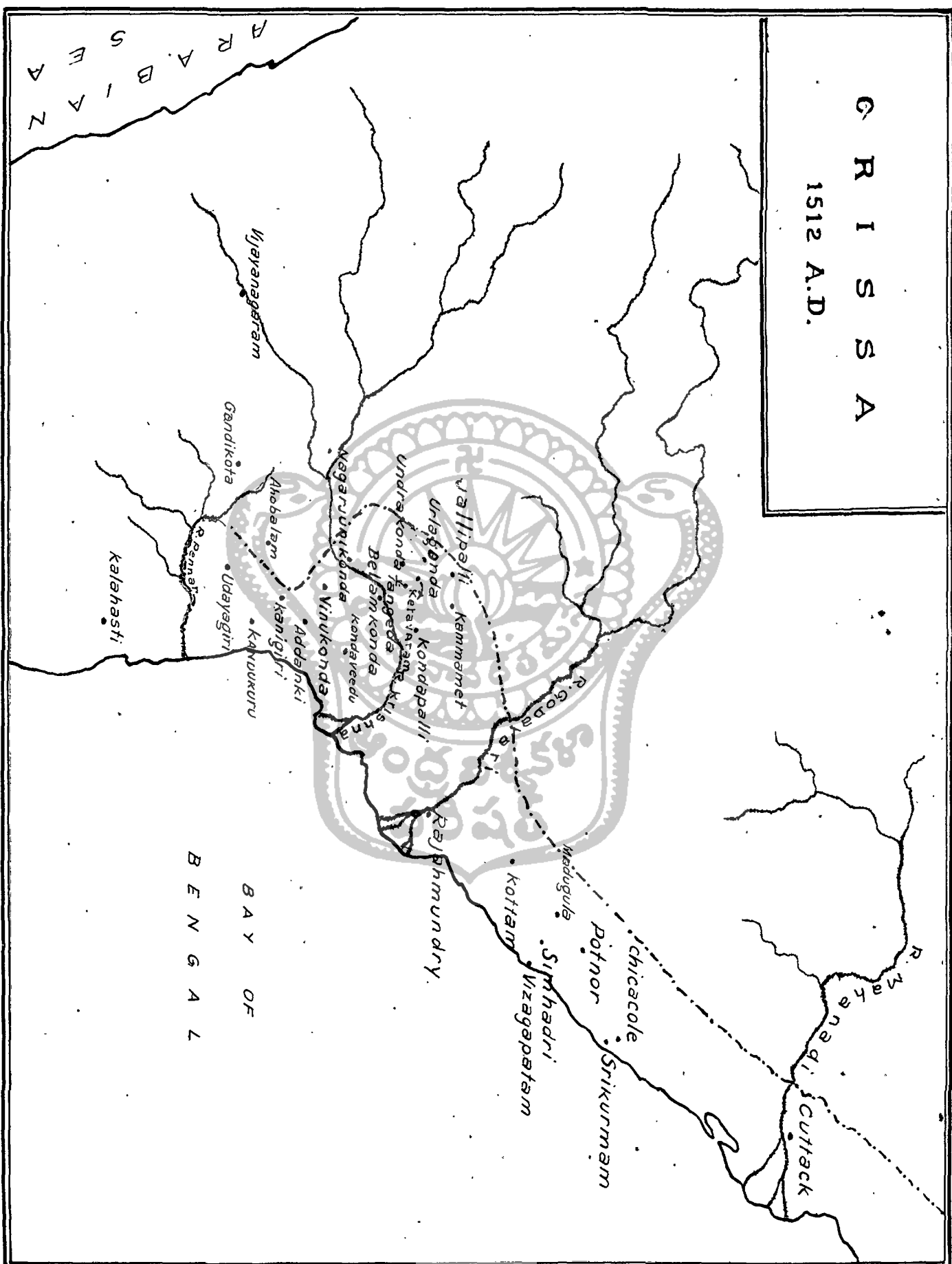
Pratāparudra Deva -

The Dwindling of the Empire.





1512 A.D.



EARLY YEARS OF HIS REIGN. 1497-1509 A.D.

(PRATĀPARUDRA succeeded to the throne of his father in 1497 A.D. He inherited a vast kingdom extending from the Ganga in the North to Nellore in the South. Some of the important fortresses such as Udayagiri and Kondavidu were also included in his kingdom. About the year 1500 A.D. he marched on a campaign to the South.<sup>1</sup>)

(To the south of the kingdom of Orissa lay the Empire of Vijayanagara, then under the rule of the Sālūvas.) (Sālūva Nṛsimha on his deathbed in 1491 A.D. entrusted the kingdom and his minor sons to the care of his general Tuluva Nṛasa Nāyaka.) Nuniz, the Portuguese chronicler, informs us that when 'Harasinga' died, 'Rachol, Odegery and Conadolgi' (Kondavidu) remained unconquered, and that he left the task of their recovery to his successor. The Tuluva regent tried his best to carry out the orders of his late master but met with little success. For, according to Ferishta, Kāsim Bārid wrote to the Rāya of Vijayanagara to invade Bījapur since Yūsuf Ādil Khān had flouted the authority of the Bahmani Sultān and assumed Royal titles.<sup>2</sup> He also assured the Rāya that the Sultān was willing to cede to him the forts of Raichur and Mudkal if he would

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1. Anantavaram Plates. Andhra Patrika Annual 1928.

2. Briggs, II, p.537.





wrest them from Yūsuf Ādil Khān. <sup>3</sup> 'Timrāj', the minister of Vijayanagara, having crossed the Tungabhadra with a powerful army against the Ādil Khān, committed great devastation and obtained possession of the forts. Yūsuf Ādil Khān after settling his affairs with Kāsim Bārid, hearing of the dissensions that prevailed in Vijayanagara, marched to retake Raichur. He spent sometime hunting on the banks of the Kṛṣṇā and 'Timrāj', in the interval composing the dispute with the Rāya of Vijayanagara, advanced at the head of the army to Raichur. <sup>4</sup> Both the armies drew out for battle in April 1493 A.D. (Saturday in the month of Rajab 898 A.H.). In the fight that ensued Vijayanagara armies were completely routed and the minister 'Timrāj with the Young Ray fled to Vijayanagar.'

(With the defeat at the hands of the Ādil Shah, Raichur and Mudkal were once again lost by Vijayanagara and they remained under the sway of the Ādil Shāh until they were reconquered by the great Vijayanagara Emperor Kṛṣṇarāya.) Narasa, though he failed to retake Raichur, succeeded in keeping the Gajapati under check and prevented him from extending his authority further south into Tamil districts.

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3. Timraj of Ferishta, as the chronology shows, should be identical with the Tuluva regent Narasa Nāyaka.  
4. Briggs, III, p.11-12.



5  
One of the copper plate inscriptions of Vīra Nārasiṃha, son of Tuluva Narasa Nāyaka, records a victory of the latter, as a consequence of of which he bore the title "Gajapatirāya Gaṇḍabhōruṇḍa."

6  
(Gajapati Purusōttama Dēva had led a campaign against the Vijayanagara Emperor Sāluva Nrsimha during the years 1487-90 A.D. Then Narasa was at the head of the forces and as such he must have fought with the Gajapati armies. But in that fight it was Purusōttama that was successful and not Narasa. Subsequent to this war, we do not hear of any other fight in which Purusōttama had engaged Vijayanagara forces under Narasa. Purusōttama Dēva died sometime about 1496-97 A.D., and was succeeded by his son Pratāparudra. Sāluva Nrsimha also died in 1491 A.D.) Then Narasa the regent became the de facto ruler of the kingdom. (Hence the victories enumerated in the C.P. of Vīra Nārasiṃha should be dated subsequent to the death of Sāluva Nrsimha.) Again there is no evidence so far discovered, to show that Pratāparudra in person had led any campaign to the south prior to 1500 A.D. From this we have to presume that some time subsequent to his defeat at the hands of Adil Shāh, Narasa invaded Gajapati territory and defeated the Oriya forces.

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5. Epi. Car. Vol.I, Gollabidānūr Taluk No.77. See also Epi.Ind. Vol.III, p.152 text line 21; Ibid, Vol.IV, p.12 text line 24.  
6. See Supra pp 140ff.



Still Gajapati Pratāparudra held sway over Udayagiri and Kondavidu and to this his Anantavaram<sup>7</sup> and Rajavolu<sup>8</sup> records bear ample testimony. According to Anantavaram plates dated 1500 A.D. Pratāparudra was camping on the banks of the Kṛṣṇā on his way <sup>to</sup> the conquest of the South. (.. యంకం ద క్షేత్రం దిగ్విజయం విదధే) పరిష్కరించుచుండెను. But there is no evidence regarding his achievement in this direction. He must have come down to the south to consolidate his position in Kondavidu and Udayagiri Rājyams and to protect that frontier from probable attacks from the side of Vijayanagara.

At Vijayanagara, the Saluva dynasty was fast getting extinct, for 'Narasanaque', writes Nuniz "after some days and years have passed, seeing the age of the king, how young he was, determined to keep him in the city of Penagumdy.<sup>9</sup> This transfer of the king (Immadi Nṛsiṃha) to the city of Penugonda where he was kept under careful watch and guard was effected according to Jayanti Ramayya Pantulu<sup>10</sup> sometime between 1499-1502 A.D. (After this according to Nuniz there were revolts against Narasanāyaka and he made war on several places and took them. Probably while Narasa Nāyaka was busy with the suppression of these revolts and establishment of peace and order, )

7. Andhra Patrika Annual 1928 - Anantavaram plates.

8. Bharati. 1938, Vol.II August p.237 ff. - Rajavolu plates.

9. For. Emp. p.310.

10. Epi. Ind. Vol.VII, p.274 ff.



Pratāparudra, considering this to be the best opportunity for him to extend his influence further, marched again with his forces to the south and camped on the banks of the river Pennar near Sangam in April-May 1501 A.D., making gifts to Gods and Brahmins, probably to bless him with success in his expeditions. Two inscriptions S.1424 (1502 A.D.) hailing from Salem district record the gift of land to three worshippers of the temple 'for the victory of Narasa-Nayaka.' These suggest that Narasa was fighting against his enemies during this period and we may not be far from truth if we presume that Pratāparudra, was one of the enemies engaged by the forces of Narasa Nayaka.

Pratāparudra's attempts to extend his authority into the Tamil districts failed to meet with any success. Vijayanagara kingdom under Narasa Nayaka, inspite of its internal disensions, proved an equal match to the Orissa ruler and the latter failed to add even an inch of territory to the kingdom he had inherited.

( Pratāparudra attacked Vijayanagara again during the last years of Vira Narasimha's reign. The Caitanya Bhāgavata states that at the time of Caitanya's arrival at Nīlācala (Puri) Pratāparudra was away engaged in a war with Vijayanagara. ) The exact date of Caitanya's

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11. Bharati. 1938 II, August p.237 ff. - Rajavolu plates.  
12. 443 and 450 of 1913.



arrival at Pūri can be fixed from the Bengali works. The great  
Vaishnavite reformer early at the age of 24 was initiated into Śaṅkṛāṇa  
by Kṛṣṇa Bhārati. "The Master renounced the world in the bright  
half of Māgha and came to reside at Pūri in the month of Phālgun."<sup>13</sup>  
Caitanya who was born in February or March 1485 A.D.,<sup>14</sup> must have  
arrived at Pūri sometime between February 20 and March 20, 1509.  
(Phālgun). So in February-March of 1509, Pratāparudra was engaged  
in a fight against the ruler of Vijayanagar. Early in 1503 A.D.,  
Narasa Nāyaka died and was succeeded by his son Vira Nārasiṃha. He  
set aside the nominal Saluva ruler Immadi Nārasiṃha and usurped the  
throne himself. According to the Portuguese chronicler Nuniz, he  
reigned for six years, during which he was always at war.<sup>15</sup> The same  
author says that immediately after the death of his father Narasa-  
Nāyaka, the whole land revolted under its captains. The new king  
brought them under control after spending enormous sums of money.  
The reign of Vira Nārasiṃha, characterised by Nuniz as a prey to  
internal strifes and revolts, would have been the best time for  
Pratāparudra to expand his kingdom to the south. He was however,  
prevented by super-human agencies from taking immediate advantage  
of that situation in the neighbouring kingdom.<sup>16</sup> Kotakara-javanāvali

13. Sarcar. Caitanya, p.46.

14. Ibid, p.9.

15. For. Exp. p.314.

16. Ind. of Ms. Aufrecht. p.77.

Kaifiyat of Jagannātham. Mac.Mss. 15-6-48.



records that during the 13th Anka (1506-7)<sup>A.D.</sup> of the king's reign, the country suffered from a severe famine whence people in large numbers died out of starvation. The country could have emerged out of the effect of this famine sometime about 1508-9. So in the last year of Vira Nṛsiṃha's reign, or immediately after Kṛṣṇarāya's accession, Pratāparudra invaded Vijayanagara kingdom. Vijayanagara armies, it appears, not only succeeded in repelling the invasion but also pursued the retreating armies far into the heart of the southern province of the Gajapati kingdom where Kṛṣṇarāya made gifts in token of his victory over the Gajapati early in 1509 (S.1491). Pratāparudra could not succeed in this campaign of 1509 because his presence was urgently required at the capital which was then besieged by the Sultan of Bengal.)

17. Nidimukkala Ins. dated S.1491 - Sowell's lists.

Sri G. Ramamoorthy Pantulu in his "Biographies of Telugu poets" quotes from some other work the exploits of Kṛṣṇarāya in his early life. "ఇట్లుండ వీరనరసింహ రాయలు తు యనతమ్మిదగు కృష్ణ రాయని పితరగుట్టనియె. మనదేశముందుండురాజులవలె పరకృష్ణ ఖిల్జీదెయింతి కృష్ణముగట్టుచుంటెరి. ఇప్పుడుమనముపెత్తెలమగు టచేతలక్షిమునేయక వీరనరసింహరాయలుకుమారుడని పుట్టి అమగానియొపెల్లవాండ్రికు పుట్టిచ్చెదమా యనివలెరి. అనాగు. కావున పల్కేన నా పుత్రులమై మనలగానా కడు శత్రువులం. అయింతు టకు వారి తే కములకుండా వలయును. కావున పీవీరా బిభాదినికని పట్టుకొనియింతుమునేనుమోయి శత్రువులను అయింతుతాని పుచ్చెదకని చెప్పెను. అప్పుడు కృష్ణరాయులచేరి అంబలబంధంబు చేసి ఇట్లునియె. నేనుండ క మీరుడుం డియొత్తకు బాసేల మోసంచెరుట నేనుమోయి శత్రువులను అయింతుకొని అమకట్టించుతాని పుచ్చెదను..." Pages 490-91.



RUSSAIN SHAH'S INVASION OF ORISSA.

<sup>18</sup>  
~~The~~ Katakarāja Vamsāvali refers to an attack on Pūri in 1509 by 'Mughals' while Pratāparudra was away in the south fighting <sup>against</sup> ~~with~~ Vijayanagara. On that occasion the governor of the city Ananta - Sāmanta, unable to offer effective resistance, shut himself up in the fort of Sārangagada. Learning that 'the Mughals' had laid siege to his capital, Pratāparudra rushed to the north with his armies and inflicted a crushing defeat on the forces of Bengal. The retreating armies were pursued by the Gajapati forces and Pratāparudra in retaliation laid siege to Mandaram. The treachery of his minister Gōvinda Vidyādhara, who suddenly went over to the side of the enemy compelled the Gajapati to raise the siege and retreat towards his own dominions. Subsequently Pratāparudra contemplated conquests of, Gāur but was counselled not to do so for it might result in the <sup>19</sup> enhancement of troubles for the Hindus of Bengal.

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18. To quote the work - "The great Caitanya came from Bengāl to this country (Jagannāth) when the king was absent from the capital. The 'Mughals' attacked the Kāṭaka fortress and lifted up this <sup>the</sup> flag over it. They proceeded against Jagannātha. The priest removed the image to a cave in a hill. The king hearing of the sacrilege came upon the 'Mughals' and drove them back to the banks of the Gaṅga". Mack.Mss. 15-6-48.

19. ~~Text~~ D.C.Son. Caitanya and his <sup>Companions.</sup> ~~life.~~ P. 9.



The contemporary Sultān of Bengal Alā-ud-Dīn|Abdul Muẓaffar Hussain Shāh was a very energetic ruler. According to the author of the Tabaqāt-I-Akbarī he conquered the country" upto Orissa and levied

20  
tribute". The relations between Orissa and Bengal during this period were anything but friendly. There were skirmishes on the borders and the frontier officers were very strict in allowing people from one country to another. Prof. D.C. Sen quotes from Caitanya Bhāṣa-yata "while Caitanya was crossing the frontier Ramachandra Khān, the officer of Pratāparudra, took all possible care so that Caitanya and his people might escape molestation from the hands of Mahomedan 21  
Zealots". This well illustrates the nature of relation that existed between the two kingdoms.

The account given in the Katakārāṇa Vamsāvalī finds corrobora-  
22  
tion in the Velicerla plates of Pratāparudra wherein he is credited with success over the armies of the Bengal Sultān. Since this record

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20. Tabaqāt-I-Akbarī. Eng. Trans. Foot-note on p.443.  
21. Caitanya Bhāṣayata. Atul Gosvamin Edition pp.385-86,  
22x quoted by Prof. D.C. Sen, in his 'Caitanya and his age', p.52-53.  
22. Velicerla plates. Bharati, Aug.1936, p.271 ff.

..... స సా దశా జ సై బల ని జ త్యా । ప్ర త్వి  
మి దతై మ ది జ్జి తి నాన్ ॥ మ త్తై జ కుం జ్జా స మ ర్తే  
య సై । దృ వ్యాన్ పి లా యై స్వ పు రం ప్ర వి త్ । జ యా  
కు లా సా జ ప వి క తా పి, జ జ్జు కు నా నె క్కి తు  
మీం మి తై స్తి ॥ "

Lines 13-15.





is dated in October 1510, we have to presume that 'this defeat of the Gauda' was accomplished prior to that date.

The Sarasvatī Vilāsa contains at the end of each chapter, a colophon, in which we find the title " शरणागतयमुनापुरा -

वीज्वर हुशानसाहि सुरत्राण शरणरक्षण

assumed by the Pratāparudra. This title implies that Pratāparudra gave protection to Hussain Shāh <sup>23</sup> ruler of Jaunpur after defeating him.

The exact date of the ~~new~~ composition of this work is not known.

Yet it cannot be dated prior to 1494-95, the year in which Pratāparudra could have assumed imperial titles.

Ever since the foundation of the kingdom of Jaunpur, its rulers always fought with the Sultans of Delhi for they always maintained that they had better claims to the throne and kingdom of Delhi. <sup>24</sup>

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23. Tabaqāt-I-Akbarī, gives 97 years as the total period of their rule.

There are several differences between Nizāmuddin and Ferishta as regards the duration of each individual reign though they agree on certain points. The kingdom of Jaunpur was first started by Malik Sārvar Khwajajohan sometime about 1393 and since then his successors known by the name 'Sharqi Sultāns' ruled that kingdom for nearly a century. There were five rulers in all and the last of them was Hussain Shāh. He came to power in 1457-58 A.D.

24. Tabaqāt-I-Akbarī, p.460. Mahmūd Shah, father of Hussain Shāh Shārqi, made an abortive attempt against Delhi in 1452 A.D., which opened the eyes of Bahlol Lōdī to the danger from Jaunpur and convinced him of the necessity of its destruction.



Hussain Shāh entered upon a series of campaigns against Bahlōl Lōdi with the object of conquering Delhi. But fortune did not favour him and Bahlōl Lōdi completely defeated Hussain Shāh and the latter, losing his kingdom, found an asylum with the ruler of Bengal. All the Muslim historians are agreed upon 1494 (900 A.H.) the date of Hussain Shāh Shārqi's arrival at Bengāl. After the death of Bahlōl Lōdi, Hussain Shāh tried to get back his kingdom by fomenting troubles between Barbak and Sikandar Shāh. But Sikandar Lōdi easily over came Barbak and retained the kingdom of Jaunpur in his own Empire.

Thus by 1494-95 A.D., when Pratāparudra ascended the throne at Cuttack, Jaunpur ceased to exist as an independent state, and its Shārqi ruler Hussain Shāh was enjoying the hospitality of Sultān Alāuddin Abdul Muzafar Hussain Shāh of Bengāl. So there was no possibility for Pratāparudra to inflict defeat upon Hussain Shāh Shārqi as independent ruler of Jaunpur.

The title of Pratāparudra as given in the Sarasvatīkalāsa, read with his Velicerla plates suggest that Sultān Hussain Shārqi led the armies of Bengāl into Orissa deputing for the Sultān of Bengal. Probably he was defeated and taken prisoner, giving an occasion to Pratāparudra to assume the title of

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25. Briggs: X.P. 3754 Nizamuddin Trans. p.463;  
Riyaz-us-Salatīn, p.133.



( PRATĀPARUDRA AND KRṢṆARĀYA: A SEVEN YEARS' WAR.  
( 1512 to 1519 A.D. )

(While the Vijayanagara sources describe the defeats and losses suffered by Pratāparudra at the hands of Krṣṇarāya, almost all the sources from Orissa are curiously ~~the~~ silent about this. Only the Katakaraṇa Vamśāvali and the Kaifiyat of Jagannātham make a brief reference to Krṣṇarāya's campaigns at the time. "In the 20th year of the king (of Orissa) he marched to conquer Mahēndra Kataka, the ruler of which offered stubborn resistance and caused much loss to the Royal army. The king at last made peace with him and returned to Kataka (Cuttack).")<sup>26</sup> The passage is very vague and may be accepted only as an evidence of a fight between Pratāparudra and Krṣṇarāya. Full history of the period is preserved in the documents of Vijayanagara kings, literary and epigraphic.

(1) Loss of Udayagiri:— As soon as Krṣṇarāya was crowned, he is said to have "stayed in the city of Bisnaga for a year and a half without ~~going~~ going outside of it learning the affairs of the kingdom and looking at the testaments of the past kings."<sup>27</sup> He learnt from them that three fortresses, Modegull (Mudkal) Racholl (Raichur) and Odgare (Udayagiri) remained unconquered by the "usurper Narasinga".

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26. Mack.Mss. 15-6-48. Ind. of Ms. <sup>Aufrecht</sup> ~~Aufrecht~~. p.77.  
27. For. Emp. p.316.



He determined himself to subdue these fortresses and made the necessary  
<sup>28</sup>  
 preparations. After subduing the Ummattūr chiefs he set out on a  
 victorious tour towards the East.

The quasi-historical work Kṛṣṇarāya Vijayam of Kumāra Dhūrajati informs us that Kṛṣṇarāya, after ascertaining the conditions of the army and treasury, got himself ready to proceed on 'Digvijaya'. In the meanwhile spies came from Bijapur and informed the Rāya about the affairs of that Kingdom. Some insolent words supposed to have been uttered by Sultan of Bijapur, irritated the Rāya who immediately ordered his armies to assemble and with the object of chastising those Mussulman rulers proceeded at the head of the forces against them. A battle was fought probably on the banks of the river Kṛṣṇā when Kṛṣṇarāya completely routed the Muslim armies. According to Kumāra Dhūrajati, Kṛṣṇarāya then expressed his desire to follow up his success and occupy their territories. But he was advised not to do so by his able minister Saluva Timma, who brought to his notice the probable danger from the Gajapati. Then Kṛṣṇarāya turned his attention towards Udayagiri. <sup>29</sup> Though the account of

28. Epi. Ind. VII. pp.17-22. Pāriṇtāpaharanam, Kṛṣṇarāyavijayam, p.62.  
 29.

" తన ప్రతాప ప్రకాశముచే నరబంధు  
 జనమునకు పత్తినికరంజనమొలర్చి  
 సమైక్యమువలయు గల్గి మరగ నుదయ  
 గొర్రెపేదన నయ్యెనుండ రుసుదెంచె "

Kṛṣṇarāyavijayam.



Dhūrjati suggests that Kṛṣṇarāya took up the conquest of the Gajapati territory as a necessary precaution against a surprise attack, contemporary inscriptions prove beyond doubt that there was a long standing enmity between the kingdoms. . Two inscriptions hailing from Nāgalapuram clearly show the eagerness of the people as well as their king to conquer the king of Orissa whom they looked upon as their inveterate foe. The king was also anxious to rid the country of Gajapati domination. The minds of the people were also fresh with the memories of the <sup>30</sup> ~~navages~~ and devastations caused by the 'older Gajapati' <sup>31</sup> who laid claim to the land up to Setu and they were eager to pay the Gajapati in his own coin.

( With the avowed object of completely defeating Pratāparudra, Kṛṣṇarāya proceeded against Udayagiri, a fort considered in those days as impregnable. ) ( Nuniz in his chronicle pays glowing tributes to the strength of this fortress and gives a graphic description of the defences: ) 'the place at this time was so strong that they could not approach it ~~xxx~~ except by one way which was so narrow that men could only pass along it one at a time ..... it could not be taken except by its inmates being starved out.' <sup>32</sup>

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30. 628 and 628 A of 1904; Amṛtamaṇḍana.

31. Kṛṣṇarāya-vijayam.

32. For. Emp. p.316.



( Kṛṣṇarāya's army marching through Gutti and Gandikōṭa appeared before the walls of the Udayagiri fort. The fort was commanded by Tirumala Rautarāya and he put up a stubborn resistance against the assaults of the Rāya's army. When his generals failed to effect anything, even after great exertions, as the Kṛṣṇarāya Vijayam tells us, the Rāya took up the lead in person and "by contriving many paths across rocky hills, breaking up many great boulders in order to make a road for his soldiers to approach the towers of the fortresses"<sup>33</sup>, finally captured it. <sup>34</sup> Pratāparudra marched at the head of his forces to relieve the fort but was driven back as far as Kondaviḍu by Kṛṣṇarāya.) The inscriptions record that the latter returned to Udayagiri fort, and granted a village in Mallore Sima to God Kōnavallabharāya. This information supplied by the Udayagiri epigraphs completely disproves the account of Nuniz 'that while Kṛṣṇarāya was besieging Kondaviḍu, the king of Oriya, learning this, came against him to defend his territories and brought with him 1300 elephants, and 20,000 horsemen and 500000 <sup>35</sup> feet.'

The Trilingual records from Tirumala give a description of Kṛṣṇarāya's march against Pratāparudra Gajapati. It is said therein

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33. For. Emp. p.316.

34. U.37, 38, 40, 41. Nel.Ins.

35. For. Emp. p.317.



that he crushed and pierced (i.e., drove) him as far as Kondavidu, took possession of the fortress of Udayagiri and on the way to his capital went to the top of Tirumalai Hill, paid homage to lord Venkatanātha, had him bathed in gold with 30,000 gold pieces etc."<sup>36</sup>

Two inscriptions from Kr̥ṣṇaswāmī Temple at Krishnāpuram speak of the same subject and add that the Raya having subdued Udayadri carried away the image of Bālakṛṣṇa which he set up in a jewelled Mendapa at Krishnāpura (a suburb of Vijayanagara) on 16th of February 1515 A.D. This act of Kṛṣṇarāya i.e., bringing the image of 'Bālakṛṣṇa' from the Udayagiri fortress also supports our theory that Kṛṣṇarāya was fighting a war of revenge against Orissa.

Purusōttama Gajapati is said to have carried away the idol of 'Sakṣi Gōpāla' from Vidyānagara. Kṛṣṇarāya retaliated by carrying away 'Bālakṛṣṇa', their sacred idol.

Pratāparudra's last known date from inscriptions referring to him as ruler of Udayagiri Rājya before its conquest by Kṛṣṇarāya is 24 January 1513 A.D. According to Huniz Kṛṣṇarāya laid siege to Udayagiri

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36. Epi. Report. Nos. 53 and 55 of 1889.

37. 25 and 26 of 1889.

38. "Śaka 1436, Bhāva, Phalguna Śu. 3, Śukravāra."

Arc. Sur. Rep. 1908-9, H. Krishna Sastry, p. 176.

39. Caitanya Caritāmṛta. Sarkar. p. 25.

40. C.P. No. 22 Mol. Ins. M. dated 19th Aṅka Monday 13th the dark fortnight of Makara.

41. For. Emp. p. 316.



'for a year and a half' and Duarte Barbosa mentions the expedition  
in 1514 A.D. <sup>42</sup> (According to inscriptions at Udayagiri, the fort fell  
into the hands of the Rāya on 9th June 1514 A.D.) As suggested by  
late Mr. Krishnasastry <sup>43</sup> the Rāya must have started on his campaign  
against Udayagiri early in 1512 A.D. (S.1434) and perhaps the  
"Inscriptions in the Hazārā Rāmaswāmi, the Vithala, and Prasanna  
Virūpāksha temples in Vijayanagara .... which record gift of orna-  
ments and villages to these temples ..... in 1513 A.D., (S.1435  
Śrīmukha) indicate that the fortress of Udayagiri was still in  
sōlgo or had just surrendered." <sup>44</sup> We have seen that Udayagiri was  
taken on 9th June 1514 A.D.

At Udayagiri, Kṛṣṇarāya took an uncle of the Gajapati King  
captive. Nuniz speaks of the capture of an aunt or uncle of  
Pratāparudra at Udayagiri. <sup>45</sup> <sup>46</sup> Inscriptions at Udayagiri mention an  
uncle of Pratāparudra, ~~at Udayagiri~~ Tirumala Rāghavarāya or Kāntarāya,  
probably a mistake for Tirumala Rautarāya, a prince belonging to the  
royal family, who was kept in charge of the fortress of Udayagiri  
by Pratāparudra.

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42. S.1436, Bhāva, Jyotsna Ba.3. U.40. Mel.Ins.

43. Arc. Sur. Rep. 1908-9, p.176.

44. Arc. Sur. Rep. 1908-9, p.176, Footnote 6.

45. For. Emp. p.317 and note 1.

46. U.37, 38, 40 and 41 of Mel.Ins.





The name of this commander of the fort has given rise to much discussion among scholars. Late Mr. Veeresalingam Pantulu wrote that the chief who was in charge of Udayagiri was a certain Praharāśvara Pātra an uncle of the Gajapati prince Virabhadra Pātra.<sup>47</sup> But the inscriptions at Udayagiri mention in unmistakable terms the name of the Commander as Tirumala Kāntarāya or Rāghavarāya the <sup>48</sup> uncle of the Gajapati king Pratāparudra and not of his son Virabhadra. In the colophon of Amuktamālyada Canto III the verse mentions the name Praharāśvara etc., at Kondapalli and not at Udayagiri.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>50</sup> Sri S. Subrahmanya Sastri in his report wrote an elaborate note about this Tirumala Kāntarāya (Rautarāya) who was taken captive by Kṛṣṇarāya at Udayagiri. In a footnote he <sup>wrote</sup> writes "He is variously named as Tirumala Kāntarāya, Tirumala Rāghavarāya and Tirumala Prayatarāya Mahāpātra.<sup>51</sup> Certainly he is the same as Parvata Rāhuttār whose Erode inscription shows him governing Mālnādu in 1510-11 A.D.

47. Lives of Telugu Poets. p.172.

48. U.37 Mel.Ins.

49. Amuktamālyada.

మ. " ఇతి హత్ర ప్రకారే శ్రీర ప్రభుత మంజుష్టాత్మకా నీకు స  
ప్రతిపి ప్రు క్షుణ్ణ మం శ్రు కాండ పల హు య్య హానిక దురైడి "

50. T.D.I.R. P.100.

51. Amarāvati Ins. Epl. Ind. Vol.VII. p.18 ff.



(S.1432 Prajētpatti) as an agent of Pratāparudra Gajapati'. Then he tried to support his identification by quoting the Kṛṣṇarājavaliyam wherein there are vague references to Kapilēndra's Southern Campaigns. According to him this Melnādu or Mēlkarai Nādu as well as Kōnguman-dalan which comprised the Nādu must have formed part of the dominions of the Gajapati whose empire extended from Orissa in the North to modern Nellore, Giddapah, North Arcot and Salem districts and the Mysore state in the south. It was Kapilēndra's aggression into the heart of Vijayanagara Empire and the consequent devastation of its southern provinces that exasperated Kṛṣṇarāya to march against the Gajapati's native country and destroy it completely in revenge ..... It must therefore appear that Parvata Rāhuttār who ruled the Melkarai-nādu or more probably Kōngumandalam itself under the Gajapati in 1510 (S.1432) at the beginning of Kṛṣṇarāya's reign must have wheeled round by the North-east to Udayagiri when Kṛṣṇarāya subdued the Mysore territory from him at the latest in Śaka 1434 ..... and from that time Rautarāya, a vernacular term for the Sanskrit Parvata Rāhuttār - must have held the governorship of Udayagiri fort until its seizure with himself in it, on the 9th of June 1514.<sup>52</sup>

Subrahmanya Sastri's identification of Tirumala Rautarāya of Udayagiri with Parvata Rāhuttār of Krode Inscriptions and his

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52. Footnote 2 on page 160-161, T.D.I. Report.



explanation to prove that the latter was holding sway over Udayagiri in 1514, appears to be too farfetched and fails to convince us.

'Rautarāya' or Rāhuttarāya are mere titles. The inscriptions at Udayagiri clearly mention Tirumala as the name of the commander. The Erode inscription mentions Parvata Rāhuttar and it is meaningless to identify Parvata with Tirumala. Subsequent to Kapilēndra's victorious raids to the south in 1460-65 A.D. we do not hear anywhere of any other Gajapati ruler going as far as Sētū, devastating the whole territory or claiming it for himself. Kapilēndra's authority in the south was soon put an end to by Sāluva Nṛsiṃha. His son Purusōttama lost all his kingdom but towards the close of his reign he reconquered the country at the most as far as Udayagiri in the south. His so-called expedition against Kanchi and his marriage with the daughter of its ruler is still open to question. Neither inscriptions, nor literature of the period help us to show that Pratāparudra's authority was ever recognized beyond Pākanādu the limits of which cannot be exactly fixed. We can with some definiteness say that in 1505 A.D., the C<sup>h</sup>andragiri Rājya comprising modern North Arcot and Chittoor districts was under the effective occupation of Vijayanagara. Kṛṣṇarāya immediately after his accession sent his brother's sons to the fort of C<sup>h</sup>andragiri which clearly proves

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53. For. Nnp. p.316.



the existence of Vijayanagara authority over those regions. Hence his statement that 'Parvata Rāhuttar was ruling Melkarai-nādu in 1510 as the agent of the 'Gajapati' is difficult to accept. The Erode inscription does not refer to any sovereign authority. The name Parvata Rāhuttār need not necessarily be assumed to indicate Oriya connection. ~~There is no clear philological difference between Rautarāya and Rāhuttār.~~ As suggested by Government Epigraphist in his report for 1911, the Parvata Rāhuttār of Erode might have been an officer of Kṛṣṇarāya placed in charge of the newly settled Ummatūr-Sirmai or more probably one of his rebellious chiefs whom he had to punish. So Parvata Rāhuttār of Erode inscriptions did not wheel round by the North east to Udayagiri to be beaten by Kṛṣṇarāya. He has nothing to do with Tirumala Rautarāya the Governor of Udayagiri taken captive by the Rāya on 9th June 1514 A.D.

Kṛṣṇarāya after the fall of Udayagiri fort marched against Kandukūr another important place in the Udayagiri Rājya. After reducing it in September of 1514, he appointed Rāyasam Kondamarusayya as his agent over Udayagiri and then proceeded towards Kondavidu.

54. Mad. Epi. Report, 1911, p. 53.

55. Kandukūr 27. Nel.Ins. dated S.1436, Bhava, Bhādrapada Śu.13, Thursday.

56. While Inscriptions (No. 38, 40, 41 Nel.Ins.) mention Kondamarusayya as Governor of Udayagiri, Rāyavācakaṁ mentions one Kampanna as the man left in-charge of Udayagiri.



(2) Loss of Kondavīdu and a number of minor forts:— Immediately after the fall of Udayagiri, about twenty-six days later, Kṛṣṇarāya<sup>57</sup> visited Tirumala and paid homage to God Venkatēśvara on 6th July 1514 A.D. From there he proceeded to his capital Vijayanagara and installed the Bālakṛṣṇa image brought from Udayagiri. )

( Kṛṣṇarāya once again marched against the ruler of Orissa, his object this time being the reduction of Kondavīdu fortress, the head-quarters of the southern viceroyalty under the Gajapatis. )

Muniz informs us that immediately after the fall of Udayagiri,

( Kṛṣṇarāya called for his minister Sālūva Timma and told him that "he was not content with that trivial victory (presumably Udayagiri) and that he wished to go forward a hundred leagues into the kingdom of Orya; and he ordered him to make ready provisions and pay fully the salaries of the forces." )<sup>58</sup>

<sup>59</sup> Inscriptions mention that before laying siege to the fort of Kondavīdu, (Kṛṣṇarāya took in a single campaign some of the forts including Addanki, Vinukonda, Bollamkonda, Nāgārjunakonda, Tangōda and Kētavaram. These forts must have fallen into the hands of Kṛṣṇarāya sometime between February 1515, the date of Hampi inscription which refers only to the fall of Udayagiri, and 23, June 1515, the day on which Kondavīdu was taken. )

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57. 25 and 26 of 1899.

58. For. Emp. p.317.

59. 272 of 1897.



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( From Rāyavācakan we learn in detail the losses suffered by Pratāparudra, ¶ It mentions that after taking Kandukūru, the armies of Kṛṣṇarāya marched towards Kondavidu. In that campaign they took Kondavidu, Kondapalli, Bellamkonda, Vinukonda, Nāgārjunakonda etc., Rāyavācakan seems to record Rāya's conquests in his campaign without any chronological sequence, for Kondapalli was taken in the next campaign and the other two forts Bellamkonda and Nāgārjunakonda were reduced definitely before Kondavidu. Canto I verse 23 of Pāriiātana-haranamu gives a slightly different list of the minor fortresses captured. It refers to the attack on Udayagiri and mentions how the Rāya took over Vinukonda, dispersed the forces that collected at Kondavidu, disfigured Bellamkonda, brought down Dōvarakonda, shattered Jallipalli, subdued Anantagiri, took Khambhamettu by surprise and struck terror into the hearts of the Gajapati, lest it would next be the turn of Cuttack to feel the heavy heels of Vijayanagara armies." Even here, these statements of the poet should not be understood as though he was giving a chronological account of Rāya's conquests. At the most, this contemporary work should be used as one giving a summary of Kṛṣṇarāya's achievements.

A word about these minor fortresses and their intimate connection with the Gajapati rulers may not be out of place here.

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60. Sources, pp.110 ff.



Kondavidu province or Dandapatha comprised the three important forts of Addanki, Vinukonda and Kondavidu with their dependent territories. From the time of its conquest by Kapilendra, Kondavidu became a seat of 'Viceroyalty' with jurisdiction over these minor fortresses.

Vinukonda:— Purusottama Gajapati, when he re-established Gajapati authority in the region to the south of river Kṛṣṇā, brought under his control the 'Sāgi chiefs' who were enjoying some amount of influence and power round about Vinukonda. Inscriptions from that place supply us some interesting information about this family. They belonged to the fourth caste and their geneology runs as follows:

Annama Nayaka  
|  
Peda Ganna  
|  
Gāda  
|  
Gannamanāyaka.

This Gannamanāyaka bore the titles 'Karavāla Bheirava, Pulivanārkoluṅṅanda and Gandabheruṇḍa', and according to the inscription, constructed the Lakṣminarasimha temple at Vinukonda. Sāgi Gannamanāyaka, Sewall informs us, built the fine hill-fort at Vinukonda as governor under Purusottama. Nothing is known from inscriptions about his successors. Some of the Cātu verses refer to one Baica or Baica mahāpātra, a son

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61. 527 of 1913.

62. 528 of 1913.

63. V.Prabhakara Sastri. 'Cātupādyamananīari'.



of Gannama Nāyaka, bearing the titles, Rāvarāhuta mīnda, Pulivamārkolu-ganda, Gandabhērūnda, Ranarnāga Virabhadra etc./ He is described as a great warrior and to have fought several battles probably as an officer under the Gajapati.

( The armies of Kṛṣṇarāya laid siege to the fort and the Gajapati armies stationed there failed to give any resistance and the fort fell sometime before June 1515. <sup>64</sup> 'Bhāskarayya' was appointed to rule over that place as the agent of the Rāya. )

( From Vinukonda the Victorious army of Kṛṣṇarāya marched against Bellamkonda. This fort as well as the other three forts mentioned in inscriptions viz., Nāgarjunakonda, Tangēda and Kētavaram were included in the Gurindala Sīmā of Kondavidu Rājya. Inscriptions mention Śrīnātha Rāju Rāmāyya dōva Mahārāya as ruling over this portion under the Gajapati in 1508 A.D. (S.1430). )

An inscription from the local fort at Kētavaram supplies us the names of three generations of this family.

Śrīnātharāju, Rāmāyya Singara Mahāpātra. <sup>65</sup>

Lakṣmīpati Rāju

Śrīnātha Rāju Rāmāyyadōva.

64. Rāyavācakamu, Sources, p. 123

65. 789. V.R.II. Ketavaram, Sewalls Lists of Antiquities Vol.I.p.84.  
Guntur





This Kētavaram fort inscription suggests that both father and son, Lakṣmīpatirāju and Rāmayyadēva Mahārāju, served under Pratāparudra Dēva. Probably while Lakṣmīpatirāju was at Kētavaram his son Rāmayyadēva Mahārāju might have managed the affairs of the province under his father with his head-quarters either at Gurijāla or at Bellamkonda.

Kṛṣṇarāya's forces attacked these forts and completely disfigured Bellamkonda. Then he appointed Virāthadrāya as his agent at Bellamkonda and Ayyalāya at Nāgārjunakonda. 66

While Kṛṣṇarāya's forces were busy with the siege of these fortresses, Lakṣmīpati Rāju's services were required to help prince Virābhadrā in the defence of Kondavīdu fort. Lakṣmīpatirāju was taken captive by Kṛṣṇarāya and he and his sons were subsequently reinstated in their old positions where they continued as officers under Vijayanagara. 67 68

According to Huniz while Kṛṣṇarāya was besieging Kondavīdu, Pratāparudra marched at the head of his force to defend the fortress. The Rāya learning of the approach of the Orissa king "left the city without assaulting it, saying that he preferred to fight the king in

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66. Rāyavācakanu, Source p.123.

67. 574 of 1902; 196 of 1903 and 272 of 1897.

68. Sewells' List. of Antiquities. Vol.I, p.84.



person and his army than to take the city ..... He went forwards four leagues from it leaving a force to prevent the escape of the people from the City ..... He arrived at a large river of salt water crossed by a ford and on the other side of the river was the king of Orya with his army.<sup>69</sup> He offered to Pratāparudra the necessary time to cross the river so that he might give battle but the king of Orissa gave no reply. Then King Kṛṣṇarāya himself crossed the river with his forces and there were heavy encounters on both sides and many were slain. The king of Orissa was defeated and put to flight.

The 'River of Salt Water' which Kṛṣṇarāya crossed to give battle to Pratāparudra, it is very difficult to identify now. There are a number of small streamlets (Vaṅḡlu) round about this place, which remain dry during eleven months in the year; but none of them are salt-watered.

Kṛṣṇarāya's attempt on the minor fortresses of Vinukonda, Bellamkonda, Tāngēda and Kētavaram must have been a stratagem played by him. We have seen that Pratāparudra was driven as far as Kondavīdu in June, 1514 A.D. The attack on these small forts, simultaneously with the siege of Kondavīdu, obliged the Gajapati Monarch to divide his forces and send them for the defence of those forts. With the remaining forces he attacked the Rāya in open battle but was defeated. Kṛṣṇarāya now turned to take Kondavīdu

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69. For. Emp. p.318.



from the hands of the Gajapati prince Virabhadra.

Kondavidu was a place of great importance and it was the headquarters of the southern viceroyalty. The fort of Kondavidu, situated as it was on the summit of a hill, baffled all invaders. It could not be captured by Kṛṣṇarāya even after a protracted siege of three months and Nuniz informs us that the fort was finally taken<sup>70</sup> more by reason of his numbers than by force of arms.<sup>71</sup> The contemporary literature and inscriptions describe in detail the siege of Kondavidu by Kṛṣṇarāya. The leader of Vijayanagara in this battle against Kondavidu was Sālva Timma, the minister. He is said to have reduced the fort by starving the inmates of the fort. The Mangalagiri Pillar inscription records "when Sālva (or the hawk) surnamed Timma ..... having captured the swan-like kings appointed by Gajapati <sup>in</sup> Kondaviti, is planning an attack, the hostile princes, secretly absconding, tormented by hunger and thirst, are searching for herbs and (the rain giving) clouds, in the mountains, the towns; the Oceans and the earth."<sup>71</sup> Kṛṣṇarāya blockaded the fort and according to an inscription at Ahobalam "he surrounded the fort with his army, having erected movable wooden platforms to enable his soldiers to stand on a level with the defenders and demolish the walls; he

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70. For. Emp. p.318.

71. Epi. Ind. VI. pp.128-9.



scaled them on all sides and captured the fort." Prince Virabhadra<sup>72</sup><sup>73</sup> was taken prisoner along with many other Pātras and Sēmantas.

The fort fell, according to Kondavidu and Mangalagiri records,<sup>74</sup> on 23rd June 1515 A.D. It was entrusted to Saluva Timma. He kept in it one of his own brothers so that he might himself go forward with the king through the kingdom of Orya.<sup>75</sup>

The Amarāvati, Tiruvannāmalai and Kalahāsti inscriptions supply the names of other Pātra Sēmantas of the Gajapati who were taken captive by Kṛṣṇarāya in the fort of Kondavidu. They were Virabhadrarāya or Virabhadrasēna (son of Pratāparudra), Narahari Pātra (son of Kumāra Haṁvīra Mahāpātra), Mallūkhān and Uddanda Khān of Rāchūru, RācMirāju of Puṣapādu, Śrīnātharāju, Lakṣmīpatirāju, Kēṣavapātra of Janyala, Balacandra Mahāpātra of the west and other nobles and ~~feudatory~~ feudatory chiefs.

Prince Virabhadra who was thus taken captive was <sup>nominally</sup> appointed<sup>76</sup> Governor over Maleya Bannur Sima by Kṛṣṇarāya and he remitted, in that capacity, the taxes on marriages in 1515-16 (S.1438 Yuva) for the merit of his father Pratāparudra and his Lord Kṛṣṇarāya.

72. L.R.15. pp.431-33. Further Sources, I, p.205.

73. Parijātānāharanamu. (Sources p.140). Kondavidu Kalifiyat: ౮౦ ౧౩౩౭

శకముందు కందు పీఠము గుంబగ్గుల పుచ్చుకాని ప్రజాపరు ప్రసజపతి కు మూరుడును పీఠము ప్రసజపతి వారికి లభయిచా నం యిచ్చినాడు....."

74. Epi. Ind., VI, p.230 ff. and 108 ff.

75. For. Emp. p.318.

76. E.C. Vol.IX, Dg.107.



Kṛṣṇarāya then proceeded to the temple of Amarēśvara near <sup>77</sup>Dharanikota and on 8th July 1515 performed Tulāpurusādāna marking his victory over the Gajapati. Thence he moved to Vijayanagara, propitiating God Mallikārjuna at Śrīparvata (<sup>78</sup>Śrīsaillam) on his way.

Thus by the middle of the year 1515, Pratāparudra lost the whole territory south of the river Kṛṣṇā.

(3) Pratāparudra's desperate defence:— Pratāparudra, subsequent to his defeat near Kondavīdu, moved to Kondapalli and concentrated all his troops at that place expecting Kṛṣṇarāya.)

(We have evidence to show that Kṛṣṇarāya did not start for the conquest of Kalinga until some months later. The same year Kondavīdu was taken, the Rāya is seen with his two queens Chinnādēvi Amma and Tirumalādēvi Amma performing Tulāpurusa, Ratnadhenu and Saptasāgara at the temple of Amarēśvara near Dharanikota.<sup>79</sup>) From there he <sup>80</sup>proceeded to Śrīparvata to the temple of which he granted two villages. After this the Rāya took some brief rest and was once again on the <sup>a</sup>march against Kalinga. <sup>81</sup>His Ahōbīlam inscription dated 21st October

77. 266 and 272 of 1899.

78. 18 of 1915.

79. 266 and 272 of 1897. E.I. Vol.VII, p.17.

Tulāpurusa, Ratnadhenu and Saptasāgara:—

Gifts of certain kinds are called nehādāna. According to Agnipurāṇa (209-23-24) they are ten. "

(Footnotes continued on page 178).



1515 records that the Rāya paid obeisance to God Ahōbalanātha during his campaign against Kalinga. From this we infer that the Rāya, only a few days earlier, had started for Kalinga digvijaya. "Taking and ravaging all the country which had no reason to expect him, he finally arrived at a city called 'Condapallyr' where were all the chiefs of the kingdom, it being the chief city in that kingdom of Orissa." The fort was laid siege to and the Commander Prahareśvara Patra with many other Oriya Chieftains were made prisoners. Among

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(footnote 79 contd.)

(gifts of Gold, horses, Sesame, elephants, maids, chariots, land, house, a bride, and a dark brown cow) These mahādānas are however usually enumerated as sixteen in Purānas. (Matsya Chap. 274-283) Liṅga II Chapt. 28 ff) They are Tulāpuruṣa (weighing a person against gold or silver which is then distributed among Brāhmanas) Hiraṇyagarbha, Brahmanḍa, Kalpa-vrkṣa, Gośahasra, Kāmadhēnu, Pañcalāṅgula, Viśvacakra, Dharādāna, Kalpalata, Saptasūgara, Ratnadhēnu, Mahabhūtaghaṭṭa. In the Liṅgapurāna the names are somewhat different. These Purānas, specially Matsya devote 400 verses to the Procedure that is to be followed in making these mahādānas. Hōṇādrī in his Dīnakhaṇḍa pp.166-345) gives an elaborate description of this procedure.

80. 18 of 1915 in Kurnul district.

81. 64 of 1915.

82. For. Map. p. 318

83. Amuktamālyada. Canto III, Verse 95.



them were, according to Muniz, 'a wife of the king of Orya' one of his sons who was a prince and seven principal Captains of the kingdom all of whom were sent to his capital by road.

"They were all pardoned" records the Kēlāhāsti inscription which supplies us the names of some of those taken captive at Kondapalli namely Praharāju Śiraśchandra Mahāpātra, (Mo)djanna Mahāpātra and Bijili Khān. The last mentioned Chief (Bijilikhān), evidently a Mussalman, "was either in the service of the Gajapati king or was sent as an ally by the Qutb Shāhi king of Golkonda to defend Kondapalli against an attack by Kṛṣṇarāya.

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84. For Exp. p.318-19.

85. 196 & 1903.

86. This Praharāju is very likely the minister of the Gajapati king called Bhūpati Ahladana Śiraśchandra (125 of 1904) whom Tamil records speak of as one of Kṛṣṇarāya's captives in war. (A.S.R. p.179, N. 3.)

87. A.S.R. 1908-9: Ofcourse Rāvavācakan suggests that the Gajapati was friendly with the Muslim rulers but no where refers to his getting any help from them. On the other hand when they asked him to strengthen his frontier forts and ally with them to fight Kṛṣṇarāya, Gajapati did not express his wish to join them but "relying on 'God Jagannātha' despatched troops to Kondapalli. (Kṛṣṇarāya Vijayamu) We have not got any connected and reliable account of Sultān Quli's reign. The history, as preserved in the account of Anonymous Chronicler of Golkonda, is confused and unreliable. It covers a period of nearly thirty years and Sewall has correctly characterised it that the account entirely leaves us in the dark as to the exact chronology of the events mentioned there in.



After the capture of Kondapalli, Kṛṣṇarāya followed up his success and took in a "single assault" Anantagiri, Undrakonda, Utlagonda, Aruvapalli, Jallipalli, Kondikonda, Kappulavāyi, Halagonda, Kambhammettu, Kanakagiri, Sankaragiri, and other fortresses in the country of Talingāna, thus penetrating into the interior of the Gajapati kingdom, finding no one to bar his progress. Finally he arrived at Potnūru Simhādri where he waited for Pratāparudra for a considerable length of time.<sup>88</sup> ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ Nuniz informs us that the Rāya had sent word to the Gajapati several times to come and meet him in battle but that monarch never responded. The Rāya in disgust finally commanded to engrave on the grand temple which he had erected, an inscription which says "perhaps when these letters are decayed the king of Orya will give battle to the king of Bisnaga. If the king of Orya erases them, his wife shall be given to the smiths who ~~shall~~ shoe the horses of the king of Bisnaga."<sup>89</sup> But at Simhāchalam we find all other inscriptions of Kṛṣṇarāya except this. If Nuniz was correct in his information, then it was really most unbecoming of a cultured king to put up such an insulting epigraph touching the honour of a brother king.

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88. Simhādri Potnūru - Nuniz gives six months for this stay. The Simhāchalam inscription is dated 30-3-1516. (694. S.I.I. Vol IV) The Rāya was at his capital in June of the same year (457 of 1923). So his stay at Simhādri cannot be for more than two months.

89. For. Rep. p.319.





Kṛṣṇarāya's progress to the north upto Simhadrī was not quite unchecked as Nuniz wants us to believe. Even Telugu works which deal with these events do not corroborate his statements. The advice of Timmarasu to the Rāya was not to push through into the interior of the Gajapati dominion as any move on the part of the Gajapati forces to the south of his new positions would strand him in a hostile country away from his capital and without any hopes of getting any provisions for his armies and himself. On the other hand 'sāma'<sup>90</sup> (show of amity) was to be the weapon to bring round the Gajapati. This shows that Pratāparudra did not leave the field free and open for Kṛṣṇarāya to march.

But the Rāya without paying any heed to the advice of the minister insisted on pursuing his course of action. Timmarasu had correctly foreseen the situation. Pratāparudra, made every preparation to attack the Rāya from the rear, while Kṛṣṇarāya was passing through the ghats to proceed northwards. The Rāyavācakaṃ informs us that one Chitāpkhān, who was stationed there with 60,000 skilled archers attacked the Rāya's armies and caused much havoc. This<sup>91</sup> Chitāp Khān may be identical with the donor of Warangal inscription<sup>92</sup>

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90. Kṛṣṇarāya Vijayamu. Canto II, verso 67.

91. J. of Tel. Academy. Vol. III.

92. Memoir No. 9 of Hyderabad Arch. Dept.



of 1504 A.D., who was then in possession of Warangal and other districts. The role assigned to him in the Rāvavācakamu makes us suspect that he was a subordinate of Gajapati and was fighting on his behalf. Kṛṣṇarāya defeated him and pursued him to his fort the name of which Rāvavācakamu has failed to mention. The Rāya might have pursued him as far as Warangal which place is said to have been reduced by him. Till he conquered Kondavidu, Kṛṣṇarāya was bent upon driving the Gajapati from the region to the south of the Kṛṣṇā. Subsequent to the fall of this fort, there appears a change in the policy adopted by the Vijayanagara monarch towards the Gajapati. It was not the greed for territory that was behind Kṛṣṇarāya's numerous wars in the distant regions of Potnūru Simhādri and further north but his determination to weaken the Gajapati so that there might not be any danger to Vijayanagar kingdom from that quarter.

With this objective he marched into the kingdom of the Gajapati. Reducing Rājahmundry on the way he finally arrived at Potnūru Simhādri.

<sup>94</sup>  
The Telugu works say that a battle was imminent between the two armies. Having come to hear that the Gajapati with his Patras would be invincible, the Rāya sought the help of his prime minister Sāluva Timma and he by adopting 'Dhōda' brought about a split between

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93. Anumakonda Kaifiyat.

94. Kṛṣṇarāyavijayamu, III, V. 70-75.



Pratāparudra and his subordinate Pātra. Pratāparudra suspecting treachery, fled from the field and the Rāya won the victory. Then he set up a Pillar of Victory at Potnūru Simhādri and made rich presents in company of his wives to God Lakṣmīnṛsimha. There<sup>95</sup> exist even to-day three records in Telugu characters written on the basement of the entrance to the Asthānamandapa and on a pillar in the verandah of the temple at Simhāchalam, which relate the victories of Kṛṣṇarāya, his stay at Simhādri and his gift to the temple.

These inscriptions are dated 29th March 1516 (Ś.1438 Dhātu, Caitra) and 8th August 1519 (Ś.1441 Pramādi Śrāvana Ba.13, Monday).<sup>96</sup> According to his Kalahāsti and Chidambaram inscriptions, Kṛṣṇarāya<sup>97</sup> was at his capital in June 1516, making charities on a large scale in almost every Śaiva and Viṣṇu temple in Cōlamandala.

VĪRAHADRĀ GAJAPATI AND KṚṢṆARĀYA.

Kṛṣṇarāya returned to Vijayanagara visiting Raḡahmundry on his way in the company of his two Queens. He must have arrived at his capital sometime before 29th June 1516 A.D., for on that day<sup>98</sup> according to the Kanakkāl inscription he granted some Dēvadāya and Brahmādāya lands from the banks of Tūṅgabhadra.)

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95. 246, 245 of 1898.

96. 74 of 1903: An. Rept. on Epigraphy 1904 para 23.

97. 174 and 175 of 1899.

98. 457 of 1923. See T.T. Report, p.176.



(It is after this date that Nuniz places the suicide of the son of the Gajapati ruler which hastened Prataparudra to conclude peace with Kṛṣṇarāya and the ratification of the treaty by means of a marriage alliance. Nuniz mentions only one son of the king of Orissa that was taken captive by Kṛṣṇarāya and that was at Kondapalli.<sup>99</sup> But the Amuktamālyada, the work of the Rāya himself and the Pārijātāpaharanam another contemporary work mentions that, the son of the Gajapati was prince Virabhadra and that he was taken captive at <sup>100</sup> Kondavidu and not Kondapalli. This is further corroborated by the evidence of inscriptions. So in this matter it is better to rely on the authority of the Emperor than on the chronicle of Nuniz.

Further, the chronicle of Nuniz enables us to infer that Virabhadra was sufficiently grown up, and that he was entrusted with the administration of Kondavidu province. He was famous as a great swordsman and Nuniz records that people spoke of him highly "as a very active man and was very dexterous with both sword and dagger."<sup>101</sup> After taking rest for some days, the Portuguese Chronicler informs, Kṛṣṇarāya "sent to call for the son of the king of Orya to fence",

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99. <sup>99</sup> Nuniz's description of the battle for Kondapalli, agrees with the description of the Battle of Kondavidu and vice versa from other sources. See also footnote on p.204 of Further Sources, Vol.I.

100. Amuktamālyada. Sources, p.137, Pārijātāpaharanam, Ibid. p.140.

101. For. Emp. p.319.



with somebody who was not of royal blood, but <sup>shows</sup> an expert in the art. Prince Virabhadra showed eagerness to please the Rāyā by displaying his skill at fencing, but learning that his opponent was not of royal blood, but a man of humble birth, felt offended and <sup>^</sup> killed himself.

This story of Nuniz is seriously questioned by recent scholars specially by the late H. Krishna Sastri. There is an inscription <sup>at Darangere</sup> dated Ś.1438 Yuva, (1515-16 A.D.) which states that Prince Virabhadra, under whose Kayakaship Kṛṣṇarāya placed Malega-Bannūr-Sima, exempted certain taxes due to his palace. This he is said to have done after obtaining the previous sanction of the Rāyā, and also that prosperity might accrue to Kṛṣṇarāya and to his own father Pratāparudradōva. <sup>102</sup> Relying on the evidence of this inscription <sup>observes</sup> Krishna Sastri ~~argues~~ that this inscription shows Virabhadra as a provincial governor under Kṛṣṇarāya scarcely four months after the capture of Kondavidu and this is further corroborated by another inscription from Madakasira (Anantapur district) dated only three days after the above inscription registering a gift of a tank to God Tiruvengalanātha of Siri, by the Gajapati prince Virabhadra for the merit of King Kṛṣṇarāya.

Dr. S. Krishnaswami Ayyangar who endorsed the views of the late Mr. H. Krishna Sastri wrote that 'Nuniz was absolutely wrong and Kṛṣṇarāya

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102. A.S.R. 1908-9, p.178 and for the inscription referred to by him see Ep.Ca. Vol.IV. Dg.107).



seems to have adopted a very much more farsighted policy in regard to his neighbour the Gajapati and carried his war against him only so far as to make a permanent treaty of peace possible.<sup>103</sup>"

(All these critics of Nuniz based their arguments on those two above cited epigraphs. We know from other sources that Kṛṣṇarāya was then making all the necessary preparations to attack Kondapalli. The war against Kalinga did not terminate and the Rāya was trying his best to penetrate into the heart of the Gajapati kingdom.) At such a critical moment is it possible to expect Kṛṣṇarāya to appoint one of his enemies as a provincial governor for whom there was every scope to turn a traitor? As a hostage Kṛṣṇarāya could have made the better use of him than as provincial governor. Nor can we expect Virabhadra who was selfrespecting to accept service under the veritable foe of his father. As suggested by Dr. Venkataramanayya, Virabhadra might have been allowed by the Rāya to enjoy the revenues raised from that part of the country. He was brought to Vijayanagara as a captive and as a hostage. To keep up the dignity of his illustrious ~~parentage~~ parentage, and for his upkeep, the Rāya might have declared him nominally as the Nāyaka of Maleya-Bennūr Sēma. Beyond this Kṛṣṇarāya did nothing to allow the prince freedom to go away from the capital. While Kṛṣṇarāya was on his Kalinga campaign, Prince Virabhadra

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103. H.R. 1917, p. 345.



must have been leading the life of an honourable guest but with no freedom at Vijayanagara.

There is nothing inherently wrong or absurd in the story of Nuniz. The Rāyā returned to the capital in June 1516 A.D., from Simhādri nearly a year after the Devāngere record. His love for the art and the fame of Virabhadra as a dexterous swordsman might have induced him to arrange for the fencing. Prince Virabhadra should have put an end to himself misunderstanding the Rāyā, as narrated by Nuniz. This is further supported by the fact that Virabhadra is nowhere heard in history subsequent to this date. If he was really alive, Kṛṣṇarāya should have sent him back to the king of Orissa along with his mother after the conclusion of the treaty and he should have succeeded Pratāparudra on the throne of Orissa.

The threat to the Homelands:— Gajapati power was not crushed with the battle of Potnūru and the setting up of the pillar of victory by Kṛṣṇarāya in March 1516. Pratāparudra who was burning with rage and sorrow for the recent death of his son at the court of Vijayanagara seems to have sent armies and they came into conflict with Rāyā's forces under Kondamarusayya, but failed to meet with any success.



<sup>104</sup>  
Kṛṣṇarāya's inscription dated August 1519 at Simhacālam also suggests  
that hostilities continued until that date. An unfinished record <sup>105</sup>  
from Cūḷasamudram dated 1517 (Ś.1439 Īśvara) mentions Kondamarusayya  
as 'the hero who actually accomplished for Kṛṣṇarāya the planting of  
pillars of victory at Simhādri and Śrī Kūrmam. Another inscription <sup>106</sup>  
from Kommūru in Bāpatāḷ-taluq, dated 12 March 1517 incidentally  
mentions that Kṛṣṇarāya accomplished his conquest of Kalinga country  
as far north as Kataka (Cuttack) (Katakam mōra gānu).

Contemporary Telugu literature, Manucaritra and Amktamālyada,  
refers to the invasion of the Rāyā and the devastation of the country  
of Oddādi, the seat of the Matsya chiefs, and the burning of the  
capital town Kataka (Cuttack) thus sufficiently humiliating the  
Gajapati to sue for peace.

<sup>107</sup>  
In one of the verses of Amktamālyada the order of Orissan  
territorial losses are recounted thus. 'The fire of Kṛṣṇarāya's  
valour kindled as the result of the friction of sword steel with the  
rocks at Udayagiri, advanced to Kondavidu, crossed Jamnilōya, reduced

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104. 244 of 1899.

105. 87 C of 1912.

106. 824 of 1922.

107. Canto I, verse 36: L.K. Vol.XXI, p.125 ff. 'Mavōicchamarlakōta  
Kaifiyat, in which the same account is given in prose:-

Lakṣminārāyana, the court musician, in his 'Saṅgita Sūrvodaya'  
(116 A, Further Sources, II, p. ) also refers to the conquest  
of Gajapati and the marriage with his daughter.





successively Vēgi (Vēgi) Kōṇa (Gōḍāvari delta), Kottam (Vīraghattam) Kanakagiri, Potnūru, Mādemulu, Oddādī and Cuttack from which place the frightened Gajapati ruler fled. His valour is compared to a wild fire which engulfed the lands of Orissa, so that its ruler felt himself insecure even within his own capital Cuttack. According to another verse of the same work, Kṛṣṇarāya worshipped God Balarāma and Subhadra at Milāchāla (Pūri) and from there he started against the Gajapati. Pratāparudra, in the words of the poet was scared away by the very noise of his war drums.

In the light of the above evidence it is not improbable if  
108  
Kṛṣṇarāya had burnt Cuttack, compelling the Gajapati ruler to take to flight in panic. Whether all these conquests were made in continuation of the Simhādri campaign of 1516, or were made subsequently in another campaign, we cannot definitely say. Some of the modern scholars and among them specially H. Krishnasastry credits Kṛṣṇarāya with a second campaign against Kalinga, where he burnt the capital Cuttack, before accepting from Pratāparudra the terms of peace and the hand of his daughter. In support of his conclusion he cited the evidence of Nuniz who wrote that Kṛṣṇarāya after the treaty with the Gajapati invaded the territory of 'Catuir', which place he brought under his sway. Mr. Krishnasastry equates this 'Catuir of Nuniz'

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108. <sup>4</sup> 'Amkṛtamaḷyada' verse 36.



with 'Kataka' (Cuttack) mentioned in Telugu literature. The Simhā-

<sup>109</sup>  
calam inscription dated August 1519, suggests that the war with

Orissa did not end with the setting up of the Pillar of Victory at

Potnūru in 1516. Several inscriptions dated subsequent to his first

campaign against Kalinga record his gifts and improvements he made

to several important temples of Southern India. The record at

Sandamāngalam defines the four boundaries within which the temples

were situated and to which gifts were extended. "It is important

to note" he argues, "that the gifts were made from the banks of

river Kṛṣṇavēni (Kṛṣṇā) and in the presence of Anantasāyī of Undavilli

and Mallikārjuna at Bezwada, Not in the year S.1438 in which Kṛṣṇarāya

was on his way back to his capital but in the following year 1439.

The choice of the river Kṛṣṇā for making grants in favour of temples

of Colamandala in the south cannot be reasonably explained except by

~~supposing~~ supposing that the Rāya was on his march for a second

time to the Kalinga country against 'Catur' which as noted above

<sup>111</sup>  
is very probably Cuttack."

'Catur' of Numiz has been identified by Dr. S. Krishnaswami Ayyangar <sup>112</sup>

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109. 244 of 1899

110. 74 of 1903. An.No. on Epigraphy, 1904, para 23.

111. Arch.Sur.Rep. 1908-9, p.180-182.

112. H.R. 1917, p.340, for contra see sewell & For. Emp. p.132;  
Father Heras. Aravidu Dynasty p.112. Dr.W.Venkataramanayya.  
Studies in the Third Dynasty. App.A.



with Śivasamudram for the following reasons. "It seems open to little doubt" says he, "that 'Catur' is Muniz's modification of Tamil Kadavar, a name originally given to Pallavas in Tamil literature and which survives yet in the Karvetinagar Zamindari in the modern Chittoor district." He identifies the city attacked by the Rāyā with Śivasamudram. The description of the Rāyā's campaign in the land of Catur exactly tallies with the description of Rāyā's campaign against Sivasamudra given in Telugu works. "Śivasamudra" he writes, "was one of the capitals and the citadel of the Gangarāja of Unmattūr who was attacked and defeated by Kṛṣṇarāya. This territory of Gangaraja is in the Cholanamandalam side of Vijayanagara and the Rāyā had been in revolt for sometimes if not exactly for <sup>113</sup> fifty years."

'Catur' of Muniz may not be identical with 'Cuttack' but still one need not doubt the campaign of Kṛṣṇarāya against Cuttack as recorded in Telugu works. Kṛṣṇarāya did go to the north subsequent to June 1516 with the definite object of completely crushing the power of the Gajapati and to secure a permanent peace. Kṛṣṇarāya was there at Simhachalam in August 1519 making gifts of villages to God Nṛsimhaḥ probably on his way to his capital from Cuttack.

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113. H.R. 1917, p.340.



( Conclusion of peace treaty:— Successive disasters in all battles against the Rāya, death of his son, captivity of his wife, all compelled Pratāparudra to sue for peace and save the country from further devastation by the Rāya's forces. )

( The Kṛṣṇarāya-viṣayam as well as the Portuguese chronicler make it clear that the Rāya's object in this war was to secure permanent peace in the eastern frontier, though they differ with regard to the ways by which the Rāya achieved his ends. Telugu works credit the Rāya with contentment after his diplomatic success at Potnūru Simhādri subsequent to which he developed a sort of friendship with the Gajapati. But Nuniz gives a different version of the method by which Rāya dictated the terms of peace. ) Pratāparudra "hearing how his son was dead, wrote to Salvatinea, (asking) by what means he could ransom his wife who remained in the power of the king since his son was dead; to which he made answer that he should arrange the marriage of his daughter with the king and that afterwards, the king would restore him his wife and lands (or would take only his lands). This counsel he accepted and he sent ambassadors to Bisnaga to arrange a marriage with his daughter with which king Crisnarao was well content. The King of Orva knew his will in the matter; he sent him his daughter and with the coming of her they were friends. Crisnarao restored the lands on the other side of



the river and kept those on the hither side for himself." <sup>114</sup>

This story of Nunis suggests that Kṛṣṇarāya made his marriage with the daughter of the Gajapati a necessary condition for signing the permanent treaty and to achieve this he used the captive Queen as a powerful weapon. To secure the release of his wife Pratāparudra was compelled to give his daughter in marriage to Kṛṣṇarāya.

A treaty was concluded, in August 1519 by which the river Kṛṣṇā became the southern boundary of the Orissa kingdom. Pratāparudra gave his daughter in marriage to Kṛṣṇarāya; probably during this marriage, he gave some villages to Kṛṣṇarāya and he appears to have made a gift of them to God Lakṣminarasimha at Simhachalam, which place he visited in 1519 A.D.

On his way he halted at Bazunda for some days, visited Śrīkūṭam where he worshipped Andhra ..... Viṣṇu who exhorted him in his dream to write Amuktamālyada and dedicate it to God Venkateśvara. This exhortation and the conception of Amuktamālyada is ascribed by Dr. O. Ramachandrayya to 3rd November 1519 A.D. <sup>115</sup>

As a result of this seven years' war Pratāparudra lost all his territory in the region south of the Kṛṣṇā and the power of Orissa was so crushed that it never recovered again.

114. For. Rep. p. 320. The bride does not appear to have 'come' to Vijayanagara. According to local tradition, she came from Cuttack as far as Kumbham (Kurnool Dt.) and then refused to proceed further with her husband. See *Infra* pp 194-67.

115. *Charati*, 1947.



GAJAPATI PRINCESS AND HER MARRIAGE WITH KRṢṆARĀYA.

116

According to Kṛṣṇarāya Vijayam, the Rāya sought with the Gajapati, the bond of friendship which was further sealed by his marriage with the latter's daughter. <sup>117</sup> Muniḥ also refers to the marriage of the Gajapati's daughter with Kṛṣṇarāya. Some of the contemporary Telugu and Sanskrit works from Vijayanagara supply us with the name of that Gajapati princess. Nadindla Gōpa a nephew of Kṛṣṇarāya's famous minister Timmarasu in his commentary on Prabhōdha candrōdaya <sup>118</sup> refers to this marriage of Kṛṣṇarāya and calls the Gajapati Princess 'Bhadra'.

119

Tukka Panchakam:— These five verses are ascribed by tradition to

116. Kṛṣṇarāyavijayam. Canto IV. verse 3, 4, 12, 13, 14.

117. For. Emp. p.320.

118. Sources, p.144. "Prabhōdhacandrōdayavyākhyā" by Nadindla Gōpa.

प्रत्यगदीयः प्रकटप्रतापो अद्य सुयदासिन पांडवेयः  
प्रतापरुद्ररूप गजेन्दुररूप कुली पवित्रीकृतभूतभाही

Several other works refer to this marriage. The Tamil Navalar Cōvittai. (Sources, p.155) by Kumāra Sarasvatī refers to the conquest of Orissa by Kṛṣṇarāya and his marriage with the daughter of the Orissa king. Allasāni Poddana in one of his Cātu verses (Sources p.154) refers to this alliance

అనంతరం నల్ల రాజు కంఠమెరిగెను

119. Sources, p.143.

కొంతం యలకును గూర్చు నాడు.



Tukka, the daughter of Pratāparudra Gajapati of Orissa given in marriage to Kṛṣṇarāya. She is said to have been neglected by her husband and to have led a life of seclusion at Kambam. In these verses she bemoans her husband's neglect of her.

Thus all these works are certain about the marriage, though they differ with regard to the name of that princess and her subsequent treatment. While we have so many references to this marriage within Vijayanagara works, practically, there is not even one work in Orissa that refers to this incident.

Some of the scholars, who refused to believe the story of the marriage argued that, the inscriptions at Simhachalam, Kalahasti and Tirumalai show him travelling with only two of his queens - Chinṇadēvi and Tirumalādēvi .... Nothing is said of the daughter of Pratāparudra, the most recently married queen of the Rāya, and nothing is more suspicious than the omission of her name in the immediately later records of Kṛṣṇarāya.

This charge can be easily answered. All these inscriptions which they cite as evidences are dated prior to 1519 A.D., and during

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120. This reminds us of Purusōttama's marriage with the daughter of the ruler of Kānchi, so popular in Orissa, but not referred to in any of the Vijayanagara works.



the campaign. Actually the war came to an end in 1519 as evidenced by the Simhachalam inscription of that date and it was only then Pratāparudra was forced against his will to marry his daughter to Kṛṣṇarāya, to serve the exigencies of State. And this is exactly what Nuniz leads us to understand. According to him Pratāparudra in order to ransom his wife who was under the authority of the king, was compelled to give his daughter in marriage to Kṛṣṇarāya.<sup>121</sup> These circumstances seem to lend some authenticity to the tradition<sup>122</sup> prevailing that the Gajapati princess, at the instigation of her father, made an attempt on the Rāya's life, which catastrophe was averted by the sagacity and tact of his minister Timmarasu. Kṛṣṇarāya deserted her and she spent the rest of her life at Kumbam.<sup>123</sup> Her father sent her thither large sums of money; she sold <sup>her</sup> ~~these~~ Jewels and had a very large water reservoir excavated near <sup>a</sup> Kumbam.

121. For. Emp. p.320.

122. Biographies of Telugu Poets. ~~Sank~~ Sriramamoorthy. p.546-47.

123. Taylor in his 'Analysis' writes that the Gajapati's daughter Rucidevi, said that as Kṛṣṇarāya was the son of a Dasi and herself noble and illustrious by birth, she preferred to abide in Kumbam to proceeding to Vijayanagara and living with the Rāya. She informed the Rāya that she felt disposed to remain near Kumbam; the Rāya directed her to do so and returned to Vijayanagara.





GAJAPATI PRATĀPARUDRADEVA - SULTĀN QULI QUTB SHĀH - 1520-1538 A.D.

At last the Gajapati saw the dawn of peace on his southern frontier. The treaty with Kṛṣṇarāya restored to him all the territory North of the Kṛṣṇā. This included the important forts of Kondapalli, Khannamet and Rajahmundry. The Gajapati officers resumed these posts and administered these tracts on behalf of Pratāparudra. Now Kondapalli became the seat of the southern viceroyalty in lieu of the previous one at Kondavidu.

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124. The Anonymous chronicler of Golkonda (Briggs, III, p.362) mentions one "Ramachundur," the son of the Gajapati who held his court at Kondapally and who was king of the land and the sea coast of Tulingana and Orissa as far as the confines of Bengal.\* There was no king in Orissa named Ramachandra Gajapati between 1512 and 1543 or during the entire reign of Sultān Quli. Pratāparudra we know from other sources (see infra p.212) was alive till 1538 A.D., and was ruling Orissa. So this Ramachandra Gajapati should be a viceroy under him. The chronicler asserts that he was the son of Gajapati - Caitanya-Charitāmṛta (Sarkar's Translation p.124-25) refers to one of the sons of Pratāparudra (the name of whom was not given) whom Caitanya embraced finding in him the resemblances of God Śrī Kṛṣṇa. This incident relates to 1512 A.D. when Pratāparudra had an interview with the Vaiṣṇava saint. If the Anonymous chronicler of Golkonda was giving a correct account of the events then 'Ramachandra the son of the Gajapati' should be identical with that son of Pratāparudra who was introduced to Lord Caitanya in 1512. By 1520-21 he must have attained sufficient age to undertake the administration of this southern province.



The peace so secured did not last long. This time it was the Mussalman peril that threatened Orissa. The Muslim state of Golkonda was just then rising into prominence under Quli Qutb Shāh, one of the generals of Mahamūd Shāh Bahmani. The example of his colleagues, the Ādil Shāh and others, and the imbecility of Mahamūd Shāh Bahmani led him to declare his independence in 918 A.H. (1512 A.D.), and remove the king's name from the <sup>125</sup>Khutba. After repairing the fort of Golkonda, he embarked on a policy of conquest in Telingāna and the spread of the banner of Islam where-ever he went.

From 1512 to 1519 A.D., when Kṛṣṇarāya was fighting the Gajapati Sultan Quli was busily engaged in subduing either the neighbouring Hindu Zamindars in Telingāna or his rivals in the Bahmani kingdom. He attacked Rajukonda and took captive its ruler, 'Raja Venkuttu Naig'. <sup>126</sup> While he was fighting away from his capital, his territories were laid waste by Kowām-ul-Mulk Turk who was formerly an officer under the Bahmanis but later was ruling Elgundel and Mulungur independently. <sup>127</sup> Learning of this incursion Sultan Quli marched against him and defeated him in battle. Kowām-ul-Mulk fled to Bēṣar and persuaded Alā-ud-Dīn Imād Shāh to espouse his cause and to march for the recovery of his country. A battle was fought between Qutb Shāh and Alā-ud-Dīn Imād Shāh

125. Briggs, II, p.549.

126. Ibid, III, p.354-55.

127. Ibid, III, p.358.



near the fort of Rāngir and the chronicler claims victory for Sultān  
128  
Qulī.

Kṛṣṇadēvarāya, after his war with the Gajapati turned against  
*95 mail Adil Shah of Bijapur* 129  
~~the Muslim rulers~~ and attacked Raichur in May 1520. Sultān Qulī,  
finding it an opportune moment to extend his influence in Telingāna,  
embarked on a career of conquest. During the early years of his  
rule Sultān Qulī was engaged in the reduction of the neighbouring  
Zamindars of Telingāna. The Anonymous chronicler quotes from  
130  
another history, supposed to have been given by Sultān Qulī himself,  
an account of his exploits. "It is now (said the king one day to  
Sudri-I-Jehan) nearly sixty years since I was first engaged in  
spreading the banners of the faithful and reducing the infidels of  
Telingana from the borders of Warungola to Masulipatam and Rajahmundry,  
having taken between sixty and seventy forts by force of arms, such  
as, Rājāḥḥḥḥḥḥ, Kovilconda, Dewarkonda, Pangul, Gunpoora, Jirāḥḥḥḥḥḥ,  
Yalāḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥ, Mulungoor, Etgeer, Medak, Bhowāḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥ, Raḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥ, Condapilly,  
131  
Ellore and Chitcole". These forts were taken as has been said by  
the Sultān himself during the course of sixty years, and some of them  
atleast he might have reduced in the capacity of a general under  
Mahmūd Shāh. It is very difficult to assign dates to these conquests

128. Ibid, III, p.360.

129. For. Emp. p.138.

130. Sudri-I-Jehan the author of Murshood-ul-Kootub that he heard  
from Sultān Qulī (Brigg, III, p.352).

131. Brigg, III, p.352-53.



with precision. At any rate, as an independent Sultān his exploits in Telingāna and the coastal <sup>region</sup> ~~region~~ did not commence till 1519-20 A.D.

As soon as war broke out between Kṛṣṇarāya and Sultān Ismail Adil Shāh of Bijapur, Sultān Quli found it easier to despoil the monarch of Orissa. The power of Pratāparudra was considerably weakened as a result of his prolonged wars against Kṛṣṇarāya.

Sultān Quli now determined to extend his dominion much farther. The first person he attacked was the Rāya of Khammamet. <sup>132</sup> Hearing of the Sultān's approach, Rāya Sitapathy of Khammamet advanced with his forces to meet the Sultān in battle, but was defeated. He sought refuge in his fortress, and despatched messengers to the neighbouring Rāyas of "Condapally, Indracoṇḍa, Warapally and Etgeer, inviting them <sup>133</sup> to form a confederacy against the Sultān." This confederacy of all those Hindu chiefs of Telingāna was defeated at Khammamet by Sultān Quli.

Since the Anonymous chronicler of Golkonda had included the chief of Kondapalli among the confederates, we have to infer that the Oriya Officer also had sent his forces to assist Sitapathy in his endeavour to check the Sultān of Golkonda, who was then striving his utmost to conquer the whole of Telingāna and bring it under his sway.

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132. Briggs, III, p.360.

133. Ibid, p.361.



The exact date of his campaign is not known. There is an inscription<sup>134</sup> at Malkāpuram in Bezvada taluq dated 1523-24 A.D. It records the grant of two villages (the names of which are not mentioned) by Malik Qutb-ul-Mulk (Sultān Quli) for the maintainance of a langar in memory of a certain Khwāja Khizr. This suggests that by 1523-24, the Sultān had extended his authority, so as to include these regions.

The Gajapati officers in the south, fared ill against the Muslims. An inscription<sup>135</sup> from Undavalli dated 1525-26 A.D. refers to Pratāparudra's stay on the banks of the river Kṛṣṇā and his construction of a temple at Mangalagiri. The presence of Pratāparudra in this region, not far away from Malkāpuram, suggests that Pratāparudra came down to fight with Sultān Quli. The former appears to have gained the upper hand over the Sultān. This inference is strengthened by the fact that Sultān Quli was compelled to reconquer these regions <sup>136</sup> from Pratāparudra about 1531-32 A.D.

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134. 153 of 1913. V.R.II. Kistna 104.

135. 47 A of 1909 - This inscription is dated Ś.1448 Pārthiva. The cyclical year referred to is expired year and not the current one. (Vyaya).

136. 152 of 1913. Dated Ś.1452 Khara, Caitra Su.2 (1531-32 A.D.) records that Sultān Quli by his powers conquered Kondapilly and other forts. - 1-



Pratāparudra Gajapati, according to tradition, invaded Vijayanagara kingdom immediately after the death of Kṛṣṇarāya. A verse, supposed to have been composed by Peddana, reminded the Gajapati of his old defeats at the hands of the late Rāyā and rebuked him for his impudence, in invading Vijayanagara subsequent to the Rāyā's death. Pratāparudra, according to that tradition, felt ashamed seeing that verse and retreated towards his own dominions.

137

The Kadalādi copper plate grant of Acyuta Rāya dated December, 28, 1529 distinctly states that Kṛṣṇarāya was dead. The exact day of his death is not known but an inscription, hailing from Nadikottur

138 139

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137. E.C.XIV. 310. V.R.I. N.Arcot. 373 - dated S.1451, Virōdhi (1529 A.D.).
138. Late K.V. Lakshmana Rao Garu in his article on Kṛṣṇarāya's Death (Andhra Sāhitya Parishatpatrika Lakshminārāyaṇa Vyāsavali, p.48 ff.) fixed the date of Rāya's death sometime in 1524-25, basing his conclusions on some catu verses (Andhra Kavula cMaritra II) which supply the date S.1447, Tārana, Jyēṣṭha su.6, Sunday as the day of Kṛṣṇarāya's death. In support of his conclusions he cited evidences from a grant of Ramarāya dated S.1448 Vyaya, Vaisākha Su.15 (L.Rec.Vol.18, p.407) and inscriptions of Tirumala (E.C.IX Magudi 82) Acyuta (34 A. Mel.Ins.II.p.303) dated S.1446 and S.1448 respectively, which mention them as rulers. It is difficult to accept this date 1525-26, as the date of Kṛṣṇarāya's death because inscriptions dated upto 1529 A.D. refer to Kṛṣṇarāya's rule. These inscriptions of Acyuta and Tirumala which late Mr. Lakshmanarao has cited, should be explained as grants made as subordinates of the great Rāyā.
139. 15 of 1915.



taluk of Kurnool district, suggests that Kṛṣṇarāya was alive on 27 October 1529 and was ruling Vijayanagara. Hence the only safe inference should be, that he died sometime between October 27 and December 28 of 1529 A.D.

The death of Kṛṣṇarāya in 1529 A.D. gave an opportunity for the enemies of Vijayanagara to invade that kingdom and avenge their past disasters. The confusion that prevailed at the Capital, and the accession of Acyutarāya, whom the Portuguese chronicler<sup>140</sup> describes as a weak character, given to vice and tyranny, and above all most negligent of the things which most concern the kingdom, gave the Musalmans a good opportunity to attack. Ismail Adil Shāh of Bijapur actually marched for the recovery of Raichur and the Deak country generally. There need not be any doubt, regarding the Gajapati invasions of Vijayanagara kingdom subsequently to Kṛṣṇarāya's death. Tradition, at least in this case, may not be far from truth. Pratāparudra had suffered an ignominious defeat at the hands of the late Rāya, his son died at Vijayanagara court, he himself was compelled to conclude peace by offering the hand of his daughter who was subsequently neglected by Kṛṣṇarāya. Naturally he must have been feeling bitterly against the Vijayanagara monarch. The death of

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140. For. Emp. p. 367-369.



Kṛṣṇarāya, the invasion of Adil Shah for the recovery of Raichur doab and above all his recent success over the Qutb Shāh all encouraged Pratāparudra to cross swords with Vijayanagara again. Whether there was any war between the two kingdoms or not we have no information. Yet one may agree with the remarks of the Government Epigraphist in this connection. He writes "from the titles, "the conqueror of the Oriya forces" and the terror to the minds of Tulukkās which A<sup>r</sup>cyutarāya assumed in S.1451, the very first year of his reign,<sup>141</sup> we have perhaps to gather that he secured his position by defeating the forces of the Gajapati .....<sup>142</sup>" and the statement of another inscription dated S.1452 that Achyuta was firmly seated on his throne also points to the same conclusion.<sup>143</sup> Be it the effect of Poddana's verse, or the strength of Achyutaraya's forces, Pratāparudra once again was compelled to go back. From this date begins the complete dismemberment of the Orissa kingdom in the Kṛṣṇa-Gōdāvari Delta. Pratāparudra took no active interest in the affairs of the state and naturally it became a prey to the conquering neighbours.

Sultān Quli renewed his attacks against the Gajapati dominions in the south. The Officers 'Chitāb Khān', and 'Harischandra' stationed at Rājahmundry and Kondapalli failed to give any effective

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141. 256 of 1910.

142. 200 of 1910.

143. M.E.R. for 1910, para 54, Part II, p.82.





resistance. Addanki Gangādhara, a court poet of Ibrahim Qutb Shāh, enumerates the victories of Sultān Quli in his Tanati-sarvārṇōpākhyānam. According to that authority Sultān Quli completely defeated the ruler of Kataka (Pratāparudra) and his viceroy in the south, 'Harischandra' was taken captive by Prince Haider Khān at the battle of Kondapalli; <sup>and</sup> 'Chitāb Khān' saved his <sup>144</sup> life by crossing the Godāvari and escaping into Orissa.

Inspite of the best efforts of the Gajapati officers, Kondapalli was lost and the kingdom of Golkonda became more and more aggressive. The loss of Kondapalli occurred about 20th March 1531, the date of an inscription, which records the reduction of Kondapalli fort by Sultān Quli and his grant of the villages, Kabulūru and

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144. Tanati Sarvārṇōpākhyānam. verses 24 and 28.

" కటకేశ్వరుని వాఱకై పశం మగ జేసె . గాంధంత జయము లా గాంధపల్లి  
గంపమం దెంచి నతా భం నుండు గొత మాతటిని లంఘింపని పో ముట మువెట్టి

... ..  
... Verse 24.

" రేచి కై వై దరు భూను . ఉద్ధరితి యుద్ధి లంచి పూ ఇంపు నా  
నావేశం బెడతాంధపల్లి కిది ప్రభావీ ధోని ... ..  
... వాహినీ పతి హరిచ్చి రుద్రుండు మార్గాన్ని నా  
జేవగారి హాగంపట్టుతాని ... ..  
... Verse 28.



Ameonabad, for the maintenance of a langar which he had established  
at Kedarabad.<sup>145</sup>

The Anonymous chronicler of Golkonda gives a description of  
this campaign of Qutb Shah in Telingana which lasted for more than  
two years.<sup>146</sup> Rāja Sitāpathy who had been defeated earlier at Khamma-  
met fled to Kondapalli and represented to Rājā 'Ramachundur', the  
Gajapati officer, that Sultān Quli had expelled him from his country  
and his next move would be against his country. Convinced of the  
truth of these observations and relying on the numerous forces he  
could bring into the field he sent orders to his subordinates to  
repair with their respective forces to Kondapalli. He, collecting  
a "host of three hundred thousand foot, <sup>and</sup> thirty thousand horse, all  
bearing lances accompanied by Sestapathy, Vidiadry and Hurry chundar  
as well as other Rajas of note, marched to attack Sultān Quli.<sup>147</sup>  
The Sultān also prepared to oppose them with only five thousand  
horse; he met them at the 'river near Paluncinoor'.<sup>148</sup> In the battle  
that ensued Sultān Quli, assisted by his son Haider Khan, fought  
bravely against these hordes, Rājā Ramchundur was taken prisoner and  
his nephew Vidiadry was killed by the prince Haider Khan. This

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145. 152 of 1913 - S.1452 Khara, Caitra Su.2 Soma  
146. Briggs, III, p.369.  
147. Briggs, III, p.362.  
148. Ibid, p.363.



defeat of the Oriya forces near Kondapalli, made the Sultan master of the whole territory as far as the Sea coast. From there he proceeded to Kondapalli, took possession of it and marched against Ellore and Rajahmundry and reduced them.

Then, the Anonymous chronicler of Golkonda informs us that "Vusnad (properly Veija Nath) dew commonly called Gajapathy who possessed the countries of Bengal along the Sea coast as far as the confines of Tulingana," hearing the discomfiture of Ramachundar sent ambassadors to Sultan Quli. A treaty was concluded by which Godavari 149 became the boundary between Golkonda and Orissa.

We know from other sources that Pratāparudra ruled till atleast 1538 A.D., and if this war of Sultan Quli ended during his rule then the treaty must have been signed between Pratāparudra and Sultan Quli. But the Anonymous chronicler of Golkonda gives the name 'Vusnad' (properly Veija Nath) Dew, as the ruler of Orissa. According to the Mādala Panji Pratāparudra was succeeded on the throne by his two minor sons 'Kalu-a-Dēva' and 'Kakharu-a-Dēva' who together ruled for a period of two years and the throne was usurped by 'Govinda Vidyadhara' a minister sometime about 1540 A.D. Thus there was no Gajapati king on the throne of Orissa by that name "Vusnad or

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149. Briggs, III, p.364.

\* See Infra 21061



Veija Nāth Dēv during this period. Yet it may not be improbable if this name was a corruption of the name of 'Govinda Vidyādhara who usurped the throne.

If the identification hazarded here is correct then, the campaign of Sultan Quli subsequent to the fall of Kondapalli should have to be dated after the death of Pratāparudra. In 1531-32 Sultan Quli conquered only Kondapalli. His conquest of Ellora and Rājahmundry and other places and the treaty with the Gajapati were not achieved immediately after that but nearly seven or eight years later, for the usurpation by 'Govind Vidyādhara' did not take place till 1540 A.D.

This is further supported by the fact that Sultan Quli was engaged in a fight against Kondavidu after the fall of Kondapalli and after that campaign he marched with his troops to relieve the fort of Kovilkonda, which place was then besieged by Ismail Ādil Shāh of Bijapur in 1533-34 A.D.<sup>150</sup> Subsequently he was engaged in wars against Kasim Bārcā and Ibrahim Ādil Shāh, who became the ruler of Bijapur by dethroning Mulla Ādil Shāh in 1534-35 A.D.<sup>151</sup>

Probably after the death of Pratāparudra sometime in 1538, Sultan Quli, taking advantage of the weakness of Orissa kings, ~~was~~ <sup>he</sup> advanced to conquer Rājahmundry. He effected ~~their~~ conquest sometime about 1540 when he entered into a treaty with, Govinda -

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150. Briggs III, p.365.

151. Ibid, III, p.71 and 371.



Vidyādhara, then the <sup>de facto</sup> ruler of Orissa.

Pratāparudra was fortunate enough not to live longer to witness further dismemberment of his kingdom.

#### LAST DAYS OF PRATĀPARUDRA

Pratāparudra's last known inscription comes from <sup>152</sup> Srikūrmam and is dated in his 41st Anka, Mēsa Śu.5 Saturday (33rd regnal year, 2nd April, 1530 A.D.). <sup>153</sup> The Katakaraśa Vamaśaśa and the <sup>154</sup> Jagannātha Kāśiyat assign him 28 years of rule and mention his last year as Ś.1454 (1532 A.D.) (Vēda śēśu manumitah). The Bengal biographers of Caitanya says that Pratāparudra survived Caitanya, <sup>155</sup> and that great Vaisnavite teacher died in 1533 A.D. (Ś.1455). Thus there is much confusion and disparity among the sources that supply information regarding the date under discussion. Let us try and see if we can fix this date by any other means.

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152. No.1161, S.I.I. Vol.V.

153. Ind.of Ms. Aufecht. o.i. p.77 - Further Sources II, p.86.

154. Mac.Mss. 15-6-48.

Loc.Re. Vol.47, contains chronological tables of old rulers of Kannada and Telugu countries prepared under the direction of C.P. Brown.

155. 'Jayananda'. Caitanya Mangala quoted by Dines Chandra Sen in Caitanya and his age, p.263. Jayananda gives the date '7th tithi of Āśvadhā Ś.1455', for the death of Caitanya.



(Pratāparudra, according to Mādala Pāṇī, was succeeded by his  
156  
two minor sons, Kalusa-Dēva who reigned for one year and five months  
and Kakharu-ā-Dēva who ruled for three months. They were killed one  
after another by Govinda Vidyādhara who usurped the throne and founded  
a Dynasty of his own. We have to depend entirely on the chronicles  
for the period of rule of each of these princes. Govinda Vidyādhara  
ruled for seven years and he was followed by Chakrapratāpa who reigned  
for eight years and was succeeded by Narasīnga Dēvarāya who died  
after one year's rule leaving place for Raghudēvarāya to succeed.  
In the very first year of Raghudēva's rule, Telīnga Mukunda Dēva  
157  
usurped the throne. Mr. Hunter has calculated and fixed the 1550 A.D.  
as the year of Mukundadēva's usurpation.)

Between the death of Pratāparudra and the rise of Mukundadēva,  
there were six rulers and the period of their rule was 19 years.  
If we accept Hunter's date 1550-51 A.D., for Mukunda Dēva's accession  
then Pratāparudra's death should be dated sometime in 1532 (1551 minus 19),  
but this runs counter to the evidence of Caitanya's biographers, who  
assert that Pratāparudra was alive in 1533.

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156. Loc. Ref. Vol. 47, agrees with Mādala Pāṇī, but gives different  
names. According to that authority Pratāparudra's sons were  
Kausīkarāya and his brother Pratāpadēvarāya who ruled one year  
successively.

157. Hunter. His. of Orissa, II, p.



158

There is an inscription belonging to the 4th Anka, of Govinda Vidyadhara the usurper dated Vaisākha, Su.3, Tuesday. Since no Saka year is given it is difficult to ascertain its exact equivalent in Christian era on its own authority. Govinda Vidyadhara's usurpation took place subsequent to the death of Pratāparudra and before 1550 A.D. the probable date of Mukunda Deva's coup. Pratāparudra was alive in 1530 A.D., though his date of death is uncertain. Between 1530 and 1550 A.D., the details of the inscription of Govinda Vidyadhara, Vaisākha Su.3, Tuesday, agree with October, 17, 1536 and Oct. 30, 1543. If we accept the former as the 4th Anka of King Govinda Vidyadhara then his accession should have taken place in 1533-34 and between Pratāparudra and Govinda, we have to accommodate for the two sons of Pratāparudra who ruled for about two years. This takes us to 1531 A.D. This cannot be the year of Pratāparudra's death for he was alive in 1533 A.D., when Lord Caitanya died. Hence we have to accept the second date 30th October 1543 A.D., as the 4th Anka of Govinda Vidyadhara and calculate back to arrive at the date of Pratāparudra's death. So, if 1543 was the 4th Anka of Govinda Vidyadhara, then his 2nd Anka or first regnal would be  $1543 - 3 = 1540$  A.D. He usurped the throne after two years rule of Pratāparudra's minor sons <sup>and</sup> as such the year

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158. J.A.S.B. Vol.LXII, 1893, Part I, p.101-102.



of Pratāparudra's death should have been  $1540 - 2 = 1538$ . If the 1538 was the year of his death, <sup>the</sup> Mādala Pāñji gives the exact day of his death in that year as, 'Karthika Su.4'. This agrees with 27th October. ~~xxxx1539xxxx~~ The conclusion is obvious. Pratāparudra died on 27th October 1538 A.D.

A study of Mukunda Deva's inscriptions fully bears out the above conclusion. According to <sup>the</sup> Mādala Pāñji, <sup>159</sup> Mukunda Deva ascended the throne in Saka 1481. (1558 - 9 A.D.). One of his inscriptions, of his 3rd Anka, <sup>160</sup> belongs to Raudri, Caitra, Su.15, Wednesday. These details, are true of 10th April, 1560 A.D. This again places Mukunda Deva's accession in 1558-9 A.D. Now Mādala Pāñji has it that 19 years had elapsed since Pratāparudra's death, before Mukunda Deva came to the throne. This again points to (1558-9 = 19 years ) 1538-9 A.D., for the death of Pratāparudra Gajapati. <sup>With him</sup> ~~That year ended~~ *practically the rule of the Gajapati dynasty comes to a close.* ~~a very troubled reign. But the troubles for Orissa were not yet over.~~

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159. J.B.O.R.S. Vol.XIII, pp.10-27.  
160. V.R. I, Gj.427.







**CHAPTER VI.**

**Gajapati Administrative System.**



### INTRODUCTION.

The administrative history of the Gajapatis also suffers from insufficiency of necessary data. Beyond half a dozen copper plate grants there is nothing to go by. Even those have very little to say about the administrative machinery. LOCAL RECORDS do not reveal any wide departure from the previous administrative systems. As a matter of fact South India witnessed several changes of dynasties; but during the Hindu period each dynasty more or less observed the traditional Hindu system of government and did not introduce any revolutionary change in the existing structure. Such being the case, in the absence of evidence pointing to a definite deviation from the past, it is reasonable to suppose that under the rule of the Gajapatis the system of administration was approximately the same as that existing under the previous rulers of the land - the Eastern Gāṅgas - the Raddis and the Rayās - at the expense of whose territories the Gajapati empire was built up. In some cases it may be found that the old administrative divisions or offices were kept unaltered under new nomenclature. Under the circumstances it would be invain to make a search for an administrative machinery of the Gajapatis as such. Hence an attempt is made to reconstruct the administrative system during the rule of the Gajapati dynasty on the basis of their records as well as those of their immediate predecessors and successors in the regions of their empire.



**KNOWLEDGE** of the extent of the Gajapati empire is necessary to understand and appreciate their administrative machinery. The empire at its zenith extended along the coast from the Ganges in the north to the Penna in the south. The sea was the boundary in the east and it is difficult to fix the western boundary line. How far it had extended into Telingana district of modern Hyderabad state we cannot definitely say. Yet on the authority of the contemporary literature we can presume that the south-east portion of modern Hyderabad State was also included in the Gajapati Empire. The region to the south of the Penna, the Gajapati monarchs did not succeed in permanently annexing to their dominions. The western hilly portion of the Kingdom of Orissa was never brought under the direct administration of the Central Government. It consisted of numerous feudatory states carved out by the favourites or distinguished servants of the ruling sovereigns of Orissa. These small states acknowledged the suzerainty of the paramount power and were under the implied obligation of military assistance in times of foreign invasions.

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1. Imperial Gazetteer, Vol. XIX, p.254-25 .

Tradition relates that the Rajaputs who came to Puri on a pilgrimage remained behind to found some of these states. Mayurbhanj was thus started by Raja Jai Singh 1300 years ago. A son of his seized Keonjhar. The chiefs of Baud and Pasapala are said to have descended from the same stock.



The paramount power never interfered with their internal administration. On a close scrutiny of existing records it is found that the administrative divisions in this vast empire were the same as under the earlier dynasties. The divisions, consisting of a group of grāmas, in <sup>Andhra</sup> ~~telugu~~ area were still known as <sup>2</sup> Sthala. The term Dandanatha, however, which was peculiar to the Oriya country under the later Eastern Gāṅgas, was applied to the largest territorial division in the Andhra region and may be equated with mandala of the Vijaynagara administration. The ruler of this administrative division was called Parikṣa. This term ordinarily means an examiner or Superintendent, but in the southern portions of the Gajapati kingdom the term seems to have been used to denote the Provincial ruler or Governor. The Cintapalli Pāṇḍu inscription dated Ś.1376 (1454 A.D.) refers to Gaṇadeva, who was the 'Parikṣa' of Kondaviḍu, Addanki, Vinukonda. This same Gaṇadeva appears as ruler of Kondaviḍu in the following year. From this we can infer that this provincial governor or 'Parikṣa' had jurisdiction over <sup>Addanki and Vinukonda as well.</sup> ~~these two forts also.~~

Subsequently the Gajapati armies carried their arms successfully to the south and the newly conquered regions were made subject to the same provincial head; and thence forward Kondaviḍu became the seat of a Viceroy.

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2. Velicharla Plates. Bharati, August 1936, p.271 ff.



The next smaller division appears to be sīmā consisting of a certain number of forts having authority over its neighbouring villages. The sīmā was further divided into Sthalas<sup>3</sup> or groups of grāmas. This division of sīmā into sthalas appears to have been done to facilitate revenue collection and the term sthalā might be a reference to the revenue circle. It consisted of a group of grāmas or small villages. Bigger villages had a number of vallis<sup>4</sup> or hamlets affiliated to them. Thus the grāma or the village was the smallest administrative unit. Important towns and cities formed separate administrative units by themselves and were under the charge of special officers known as 'Nadarādhykṣas'<sup>5</sup>.

Central Government:— According to ancient Hindu political thinkers the state consisted of seven elements of which the king was the most important<sup>6</sup> and this is also emphasised by the contemporary Vijayanagara king Kṛṣṇarāyaṇ<sup>7</sup>. The king was the Centre of all military, political

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3. Velicherla Plates. Bharati, August 1936.

4. 244 of 1899.

5. 317 of 1896.

6. Matsya Purāṇa, Ch.220, V.19. The seven constituents of the state are (1) Svāmin (Lord) (2) Amātya (3) Janapada (4) Durga (5) Kōśa (6) Danda (7) Mitra.

7. Āpaktamālyada, IV, V. 206.



and judicial powers, and the pivot on which the whole administrative mechanism rotated. All power was concentrated in him and he delegated some of it to his servants who ran the administrative machinery. These were directly responsible to him. He commanded the armies in person, He was the source of honour and rewards to deserving officers and he distributed titles and favours in recognition of meritorious service or very talent. The provincial governors and feudatory chiefs were under his control and guidance. Hindu kings were generally guided by the Smritis and Dharmasāstras in matters of government. Pratāparudra

8. Hindu concept of law was something peculiar. It was neither the will of the multitude nor merely the expression of the social will. Kautilya strictly lays down the principle that the kings' business was neither to make law, nor to alter it, but to carry out its maxims. The king according to him was the embodiment of all authority, 'this authority he derived from law' - law the eternal, the embodiment of all order, the essence of the regulative maxims of a cosmical order. (Narayanachandra Bandopadhyaya 'Kautilya' p.67).

Though he thus denies the kings the powers of legislation, he upholds the theory that in matters of dispensation of justice 'Rājasāsana' should have the highest place.

धर्मस्य व्यवहारस्य चरितं राजशासनम्  
विवादार्थं अतुष्यादः पञ्चिमः पूर्वबोधकः ।  
तत् सत्यस्थितौ धर्मो व्यवहारोस्तु साक्षिषु  
चरितं संग्रहे पुंसां राजासनात् शासनम् ।

Thus theoretically the king had no legislative authority but in practice, it was hardly so. The king indirectly exercised considerable influence over the laws. He had ample opportunities for modifying them, by repealing or introducing customary laws and issuing regulations and ordinances which had the force of law. (Cf. Asoka's Edicts, specially in matters of administration). The Gajapati was no exception to this and his Sarasvati Vilāsa is a clear testimony to the legislative powers assumed by him.



in his introduction to the Sarasvatī Vilāsa, refers to some of the commentaries ~~for~~ on the Smṛti, which were ~~even~~ popular, and which he himself followed as guides in matters of administration. He cites the names of commentators like Viṣṇu<sup>9</sup> Bhāruḥi, Aparārka, Medhātithi, Asahāya and states that he himself composed the Sarasvatī Vilāsa to make the essence of their works readily available and fill up the lacunae if any.<sup>10</sup>

9. Pratāparudra appears to have mentioned them in order of their importance. Chronologically the names may be arranged thus:

| Name of the Commentator.       | Approximate time.   | The author or authors whose works have been commented upon. |
|--------------------------------|---|---|
| 1. Asahāya.                    | Lowest limit is about 750 A.D. and how much earlier he flourished it is difficult to say. | Gautama Dharma Sūtra<br>Manu Smṛti<br>Nārada.               |
| 2. Medhātithi.                 | After 850 A.D.  | Manu Smṛti.   |
| 3. Bhāruḥi.                    | Not later than the 1st half of the 9th century.   | Viṣṇudharma Sutra.  |
| 4. Viṣṇu <sup>9</sup> Bhāruḥi. | 1070-1100.  | Yajñavalkya Smṛti.  |
| 5. Aparārka.                   | 1st half of the 12th century.   | -do-  |

10. Even if it is found that Pratāparudra was not its author (See Infra p.299/4) the fact stands that it was compiled to meet a necessity.



The Rāyavāchacamu gives us an interesting account of the daily routine of the Gajapati monarch. "He used to get up from the bed early in the morning two hours before sun rise and salute two Brāhmanas first before looking at any other person. Then accompanied by the twelve Pātras he used to go on a ride for about twenty or thirty miles and then return to the palace. After taking his bath he engaged himself in the daily worship of Lord Jagannātha. Then he had his midday meals. After food he used to recite 'Sankṣeparāmayanam'. Then putting on official robes, bedecked with jewells he used to sit in the Court and transact his daily business." Among the duties of the king first place should be given to his duty of protection.<sup>11</sup> Most of our writers on polity lay great emphasis on this and this forms the very essence of the state. "Protection surpasses all regal duties in importance and religious merit."<sup>12</sup> In return for the protection the king is entitled for, "his sixth or Sastānsam - i.e., taxes."<sup>13</sup> This duty of protection is all comprehensive. The

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11. Further Sources, II. P. / 50

12. Sōmadeva's Nitivakyaṃruta. p.17,  
and the same author asserts that

13. Rangaswami Ayyangar. Indian Polity. p.108.

14. Arthasāstra, Bk.IV, Ch.3, (pp.206-207, Mysore Edition).  
Manuśmṛti, IX, 246-247.





king is expected not only to maintain peace and order by prorogation of ordinary laws but is also held responsible for the maintenance of Dharma. Kautilya outlines elaborate rules and devices to save the state from external aggression and internal tumult. "Confusion springing up from haziness regarding personal rights and duties (warded off by the definition and promulgation of law), the want of competent authorities to redress injustice and award just relief to the oppressed (met by the establishment of tribunals and magistrates), and the protection of the state against dangers like famines, fires and floods, mortality of cattle and epidemics, among men as well as the insolvency of the state, growing out of an increasing poverty of the people and the increase of unemployment, poverty, vagrancy, vice and crime<sup>15</sup>". Under this comprehensive head protection, all the work of the ancient Indian state, (in our modern terminology, as the departments of church, Education, poor-relief, the police, criminal and civil justice, legislation, medical relief, public works, the army and the navy, the consular and diplomatic service<sup>16</sup>) was transacted by different officers, specially appointed by the king. The king thus forms an integral part of the social order. The ancient Smṛtikāras have defined the duties of a king as follows:

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<sup>15</sup>. Ind. Polity. p.110.

<sup>16</sup>. Ibid, p.110.



"A King who protects the created brings in accordance with the sacred law and smites those worthy of corporal punishment, daily offers sacrifices at which hundred thousand (are given as) fees.<sup>17</sup>" It was also the duty of the king to honour and respect the traditional rights and customs of individuals as well as of collective bodies.<sup>18</sup> The duties of lawful punishment, giving state relief to Brahmanas and other people, fighting with the enemy, levying taxes, administering justice, appointing state officials and performing sacrifices - these are some of the duties of the kings mentioned in Dharma Sūtras.<sup>19</sup>

The Central Government possessed all the elements sanctioned by Hindu polity. The king, no doubt, was the central figure. He was assisted by a group of councillors in day to day administration. Kingship was hereditary in the male line. When the ruler was old or of retiring disposition he selected the heir - apparent from among his own sons and invested him with all the powers of the ruling sovereign. Kapilendra disregarded the claims of his first born when he nominated Puruṣottama to succeed him on the throne of Orissa.<sup>20</sup> This clearly shows that the law of primogeniture was not strictly

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17. Manu, VIII, 306. See also 303, 307, p.307; Ghosal: Hindu Political theory, pp.184-6.

18. Gautama XI - 20-1, p.237. Ghosal Ibid p.16. Majumdar. Corporate life in Ancient India, p.60.

19. Manu, VII, p.216.

20. Mādala Pāṇī: appears to have invented the story connected with Puruṣottama's nomination to support his weak claims.



observed. It was not always the oldest son that succeeded to the kingship.

Generally princes of blood royal were appointed as provincial governors though not to the complete exclusion of other deserving

<sup>21</sup> people. In the Gajapati Empire the southern vicerealty was always filled by a prince or a member of the royal family. In 1454-55 A.D., when the province was newly conquered Gāṇḍōva son of Guhīdōva, and a relative of Kapilendra is mentioned as Parikṣa or Governor of

<sup>22</sup> Kōṇḍavīḍu. But from 1464 onwards the place was occupied by Prince Hanvira's son <sup>23</sup> Daksina Kapilēśvara. During the reign of Pratāparudra

<sup>24</sup> prince Virabhadra ruled the southern province as the Viceroy from Kōṇḍavīḍu. These governors enjoyed the royal prerogative of granting villages.

Some of the land grants of the Gajapati monarchs supply us with the titles of important officers of the state. They were

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21. Inscriptions (318 of 1876) dated S.1373 mention Ravidāsa patnāyaka and Hemakarapātra as 'Parikṣas' of Kalinga Dandapatha; 313 of 1896 mentions Kuṇḍalēśvara Mahāpātra as the 'Parikṣa' of the same.

22. I.A. Vol.X<sup>4</sup>, 390 ff.

23. 50 of 1919.

24. E.I. VI P 230 66 & 108 66.



<sup>25</sup>  
Patras, Mahāpātra, Behara Mahāpātra, Samantas etc. Some of these always attended the royal court and others occupied responsible offices in the central and provincial governments.

A few words may be said about the Gajapati Court. The Sarasvatī Vilāsa informs us that Pratāparudra Gajapati used to sit in the Court hall and with the assistance of his ministers discharge the royal duties every day. The heir-apparent and other princes of blood royal, members of the ministry, Purōhita or Rājaguru, military officers, poets, astrologers, Pandits and other high dignitaries of the state were the most prominent members of his Court. The

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25. J.A.S.B. Vol.LXII, 1893, p.88 ff; and Velicherla plates of Pratāparudra. Bharati, August, 1936. The word Patra means Minister (Purnachandra Orya Bhaskarasa. Vol.V, p.4758) and the same authority informs us that Mahāpātra stands for Prime Minister. This Mahāpātra was a title bestowed by kings. Generally all generals and chief secretaries (Mahālekhas), Chief Priest (Purōhita) are called Mahāpātra. In the Bhaskara Purāṇa it is said as follows:



Queen used to take her seat by the side of the king when he sat in  
26  
court chamber to transact business.

The Ministry:— The custom of conducting administration of the country  
with the help of councillors is also old as Manu. "Even an under-  
taking easy (in itself) is sometimes hard to be accomplished by a  
single man; how much (harder is it for a king), specially (if he  
has) no assistant (to govern) a kingdom which yields great revenues." 27  
The Gajapati inscriptions mention a number of Patras, Mahapatras,  
28  
Mahara Mahapatras etc. According to Oriya lexicon these terms have  
plurality of meanings. Patra means "Minister, a good man, family."

26. महानदीजलमध्यमध्यामीनां, अमरनदीप्रतिबिम्बयिव  
भूकान्ताकटिकं कटकनगरीं, पद्मापद्मान्ध्रैश्च महिष्कायि  
रक्षसं सम्मानयन्, प्रतिदिवसनि यतराजक नियत  
अवहाररूपधर्मीचरणमाचरन्, यथाविहितसभा  
मण्डपान्तरे सभ्यप्राङ्निवाकामात्यपुत्रोदितज्योति  
र्विदादिभिः सहितः विज्ञानयोगिभारुच्यपराकमेधातिव्य  
सहायचन्द्रिकादि बहुगाम्यैकवाक्यतापदीलोचनवद्वायात  
नत्क्लेशो मान्प्रदिति सकलस्मृतिरसमुद्ययमतिगम्भीरं  
नातिविस्तृतं पूबभं प्रस्तौति.

Sarasvatī Vilāsa, p.11.

27. Manu VII, 55 p.224.

28. Vellicherla Plates. Bharati, August 1936.



title of Sudras and Khandastas." Similarly the term Mahānātra stands for a "Prime Minister, title bestowed by kings, commander, a general, family title of Mahalēkhakas family title of Brahmanas; family title of ~~xxxxxx~~ flower gardeners. The word Behara means "Paiki bearer, family title of certain Sudras and Vaisyas of Orissa, the headman of a caste guild servant, owner, master, the head among the servants engaged for agriculture etc." Thus these are more of the nature of titles than designation of officials. In the Epigraphical records these titles are borne by Chief Ministers, Ministers, Commanders and Priests. Their actual official position is indicated by designations accompanying their names. Some of the copperplate grants of Udayaditya IV, of the Eastern Ganga Dynasty furnish a list of officers with their designations. A few of those designations are almost identical with those of the officers serving under Kapilendra as furnished by the latter's Jagannatha stone inscription. The following table furnishes an interesting comparative study and establishes the truth that change of dynasty does not necessarily involve change in the administrative machinery.



<sup>or</sup> Śrīsimha IV (dated 1396, 97 A.D.)

Kapilendra.

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1. R.D. Banerji. His. of Orissa, p.284 ff.    | Jagannātha inscription, Right side No.III and II. |
| Lāndusani Misra Budha llanka.                 | J.A.S.B. Vol.LXII, 1893 p.88 ff.                  |
| <u>Mahāpātra</u> Narendra Deva-               | <u>Mahāpātra</u> Kakai Santara                    |
| Chakravarti                                   | " " Jalasarasēna                                  |
| Bhandaria than Perōparikṣa.                   | " " Gōpinātha                                     |
| (Examiner of Accounts)                        | " "   |
| <u>Mahāsēnāpati</u> Svapnēswara               | " " Kāsi vidyādhara                               |
| (Porō-Śrī-Karana (writer of Accounts)         | " " Balēśvara Praharāga.                          |
| <u>Mahāsēnāpati</u> vaid (writer of Accounts) | " " Lakṣṣmana Purohita.                           |
|   | <u>Mahāsēnāpati</u> Damōdara Pattanāyaka.         |
|   | <u>Patra</u> Agni Sarma (Seal bearer)             |
|   | <u>Mahāpātra</u> Raghudēva Narendra               |
| 2. <u>Mahāpātra</u> Kṛṣṇanānda                | (Superintendent of Kōtaghar.                      |
| Sandhivigrahika.                              | Mr. Chakravarti translates it as                  |
| <u>Mahāpātra</u> Lānduratha.                  | Store-keeper).                                    |
| <u>Mahāpātra</u> Gōpinātha                    |   |
| Sandhivigrahika.                              |   |

But it cannot be said that all these discharged ministerial functions; nothing is known about the strength of the ministry or about the portfolios held by its different members. The Rājagurus, however, played an important role in the councils of the king. Great prominence was given to them under the Gajapatis. Similar was the case in Vijayanagara. As has been observed by Salatore, ~~It was due to~~ the profound wisdom of the celebrated characters ~~that~~ illuminated the pages of history. They enjoyed considerable amount of influence in the capacity of the preceptors of the monarch. <sup>29</sup> Jivadeva, the

29. Sob. and Pol. Life in Vij. Emp. Vol.I, p.262; C.f. the influence of Śaiva teachers of Gōlaki Matha on Kakatiya princes. (Re.In. Epi. 1917, p.22 ff. Para 32



Sanskrit poet patronized by Pratāparudra, in the introduction of his work '<sup>30</sup>Bhakti Vaibhavanāṭaka' gives the names of his ancestors who served the rulers as Purohitas or Rājagurus. The founder of the family was one Gopala Deva who served Nissanka Bhānudeva the last Gaṅga monarch as a Rājaguru. He continued under Kapilēndradeva the founder of the Gajapati dynasty. His son Trilōcana Kavirāja served Puruṣōttama as his Rājaguru. Inscriptions of Kapilēndradeva disclose the names of other Rājagurus also. His Bhuvanēśvara Mahāpatra<sup>31</sup> inscription dated 1437 A.D. mentions the names of Vasu Mahāpatra and Bhuvanēśvara Mahāpatra. The Gopināthpur inscription<sup>32</sup> of the same monarch dated in 1465 A.D., supplies us with the name of Mahāpatra Lakṣmana Purohita.

These Purohitas or Rājagurus had an important role assigned to them and had the status of Mahāpatra. Rājaguru Jivadevacarya, the Purohit of Pratāparudra bore an epithet '<sup>33</sup>Vahinipati'. The epithet

30. Rep. on the Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts, 1900-1902 to 1905-1906, p.14-16, by Haraprasada Sastri.

31. Right side No.II, Bhuvanēśvar Inscriptions. J.A.S.B.Vol.LXII, p.103-4.

32. J.A.S.B. Vol.LXIX, 1900, p.175 ff.

33. The colophon of the Drama Bhakti Vaibhava Nāṭaka. इति श्रीमत्कवि राजराजगुरुत्रिलोचनाचार्यतनय श्रीभगवद्वासुदेवभक्तिप्रस्थान प्रणयपरमाचार्य श्रीमन्महामहोपाध्याय श्रीकविडिण्डिमवाहिनीपति राजगुरुजीवदेवाचार्यविरचिते ।

Cf. title 'Vahinipati Mahāpatra' conferred on Janēśvara, another Court Post by the same king.





literally means a commander. But from this it will be erroneous to infer that he was a commander. Probably it was a title conferred on him by Pratāparudra.

Military leadership seems to have been one of the important qualifications necessary for a minister. Besides possessing proficiency in the art of administration, they were expected to be well versed in the military science as well. The military department was the most important of all departments at the centre. The king was its head. The fighting force consisted of infantry, cavalry, and elephant corps, and in the Gajapati army the elephants formed a prominent part.<sup>34</sup> The minister in charge of foreign affairs was known by the name 'Sandhi Vighraha' (the man in charge of peace and war). Under Kapilendra, Mahāpatra Madhukēśvara<sup>35</sup> was in charge of this portfolio. This minister assisted the king in matters of foreign policy; entertaining ambassadors and despatching Dutas.<sup>36</sup> The Gajapatis had several feudatories and neighbours. This minister who had to deal with them had in his service several officers.<sup>37</sup>

Provincial Administration:— The biggest territorial division in the Gajapati Empire, as has been mentioned already, was Dandamatha or Rājya:

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34. I.A., XXVIII.P.237

35. 296<sup>th</sup> of 1899.

36. See Rāyavācchakamu.

37. For an account of the feudatories see *Infra* p.31564



It was subdivided into Sīmas which was further divided into Sthala or Matha consisting of a number of Grāmas. This nomenclature varied according to the locality. The exact number of Dandapathas or Provinces into which the whole Gajapati Empire was divided cannot be ascertained, for want of evidence. The land grants and some of the votive inscriptions frequently refer to the Kalinga Dandapatha, and Kondavidu Dandapatha. Rājahmundry Rājya comprising the modern Godavari districts and portions of Kṛṣṇa was under the administration of a governor with his headquarters at Rājahmundry. <sup>38</sup> Similarly Udayagiri rājya was kept under another governor, though the fort was manned and commanded by Imperial forces and generals. <sup>39</sup> Viceroys and Provincial Governors were appointed by the emperor and were responsible for maintaining peace and order within their jurisdiction and protecting it from external invasions. These provincial governors collected the revenues a portion of which they sent to the imperial exchequer. In this task they were assisted by a hierarchy of officials appointed

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38. Mahāpatra Raghudēva Harendra governed Rājahmundry Rājya under Kapilēndra. During the reign of Pratāparudra, Rai Ramanand ruled over this province.
39. Udayagiri rājya comprising a large part of Pakanati Sīma (modern Nellore District) and according to Contemporary literature was administered by a Kṣatriya family. Basavabhūpala of the Pūṣapāti family administered this province on behalf of the Gajapati. But inscriptions of Pratāparudra show that Tirumala Rautaraya was kept in charge of the fort of Udayagiri.



by the governor. It is reasonable to presume that the provincial government was manned by officials on the same lines as in the Central Government.

These governors (Parikṣas) were frequently transferred from the province to another. The Parikṣas of Kalinga Dandapatha seem to have been very frequently transferred. In 1451 A.D. Lakṣmana Daśa Mahāpātra, son of Kuṇḍalēśvara Mahāpātra, was then the Kalinga <sup>40</sup>Parikṣa. In 1455 A.D. his father Kuṇḍalēśvara is mentioned in a <sup>41</sup>record as the Parikṣa of Kalinga Dandapatha. He was succeeded by <sup>42</sup>Gaṇḍadēva Rantārāya in 1460 in his office. This Gaṇḍadēva or Gaṇadēva was Parikṣa of <sup>43</sup>Kondavidu, Addanki and Vinukonda in 1454-55 A.D., and in 1460 when he was transferred to Kalinga Dandapatha, <sup>44</sup>Dakṣiṇa Kṣpilēśvara Kumāra Mahāpātra was appointed as Parikṣa of Kondavidu.

The exact boundaries and the extent of each of these Dandapathas are very difficult to fix. On the evidence of some of the land grants issued from Kondavidu dandapatha, it is possible to

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40. 368 of 1896, dated S.1373.

41. 313 of 1896, dated S.1377.

42. 278 of 1899, dated S.1382.

43. 70 of 1919; I.A., Vol.XI.

44. 50 and 71 of 1905.



infer that it comprised the whole of modern Guntur district and probably the river Gundlakamma was its southern boundary. The sīmas of this region that find mention in this copper plate and lithic records are Armanabrolu Sīma, Vīṅkonda Sīma, Gurindāla Sīma, (Gurujala) and Addanki Sīma. Kondavidu itself formed a subdivision called Konda-vidu Sthala.

We have some interesting information preserved in the Local  
45 Records about the divisions of Rājāhūdry Rājya or Dandapatha. This province was divided into a number of Sthalas as:

- |                           |                      |
|---------------------------|----------------------|
| 1. Polnāti Sthala         | 12. Murumalla Sthala |
| 2. Bodasakuru Sthala      | 13. Vagalnādu "      |
| 3. Ponnāda "              | 14. Mollōru "        |
| 4. Nandipudikottam Sthala | 15. Rājapūdi "       |
| 5. Kimmūru "              | 16. Sarvasiddhi "    |
| 6. Bikkavōlu "            | 17. Rāyavaram "      |
| 7. Ētakōta "              | 18. Kakīnāda "       |
| 8. Kōrukonda "            | 19. Salapaka "       |
| 9. Aratīakōta "           | 20. Talipaka "       |
| 10. Cōdavaram "           | 21. Kōṭa "           |
| 11. Vinjavaram "          |                      |

These sthalas, comprised of a group of gramas or villages, appears to have been a revenue circle. Each sthala had a sthalakaranam  
46 who maintained the accounts and had the title Patra.

The headquarters of these provincial governors or Parikṣas were centres of great activity, always crowded and resounding with the noise of drums, horses, elephants and temple bells.  
47

45.

46. Ibid.

47.I.A., Vol.XX, p.390 ff.

45. Jayanti, Vol.I.



Town and ~~Grama~~ administration:— Important towns and cities formed separate units and were kept in charge of prefects who were designated as Nagarādhya. Whether there were ~~any~~ non-official committees to help the prefects in matters of administration of towns, we have scanty information in the records of our period. An epigraph from Tirupati in the Poddapuram Taluq of Gōḍavari district refers to the Mahājanas of that village and their grants to the temple at Tirupati. From this it is evident that there were village assemblies and it is not impossible if the same institutions prevailed in Towns as well. These town prefects were under the control and guidance of the parikṣa of the Dandapatha in whose jurisdiction the towns were situated.

Village administration:— The history of the village activities forms a significant chapter in the administrative history of ancient India. Several attempts have been already made by eminent scholars for the reconstruction of this particular aspect of history, viz., Dr. R.C. Majumdar's Corporate life in Ancient India, Dr. M.R. Altekar's History of the village communities in Western India, Mr. Baden Powell's Indian Village Community etc. Any discussion about the same will be only duplication of work and might even be irrelevant.

The administration of the village in South India was carried on by village assemblies from times immemorial and it was characterised by a remarkable spirit of cooperation. These assemblies were generally distinguished by the names of Sabha and Ur. They were composed of



the residents of the localities concerned. The Sabha was invariably an assembly associated with the Brahmadēya village or Agrahāra. The Ur and Sabha coexisted in places where the new Brāhmana settlement was superimposed on a more ancient community by making it an Agrahāra.

<sup>48</sup> These villages were granted to Brāhmanas either as rewards for their meritorious services or as gifts in appreciation of their learning. When the village was granted to a single individual it was called 'ekabhoga' or the land to be enjoyed by a

<sup>49</sup> single individual. The village Velicherla granted to Kondayya by Pratāparudra was an ekbhoga. When a village was divided among a number of Brāhmanas it was called Ganabhoga. The Chiruvrōlu village

<sup>50</sup> granted by Rāmvīra deva and the Anantavaram village donated by Pratāparudra were Ganabhoga villages. <sup>51</sup>

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48. Cōlas, Vol.II, Part I, p.278-279; See, Uttaramallūr inscription of Parāntaka I, which supplies an elaborate description of this assembly (Sabha) the qualifications and disqualifications for its memberships and a hundred other details. (Epi.Report for 1913, p.98<sup>note</sup> and A.S.R. 1904-5 p.131-45).

49. Velicherla Plates. Bharati, August, 1936.

50. Chiruvrōlu Plates, Ibid, No.1941, A.514 ff.

51. Anantavaram Plates, Andhra Patrika Annual, 1928.



The Ganabhōga village was a common holding and they managed the land collectively. To transact the business of the village, their common interest, they used to meet together and in this way the <sup>52</sup> Sabha or the village Assembly came into being. The members of the Sabha were ~~now~~ ipso facto shareholders of the village and they came to be called Mahajanas and since they were learned they were also called Vidvan Mahajana Sabha. The Tirupati record (Peddapuram Taluq) already cited refers to the Mahajanas of that place.

As regards Ur, it had considerable powers of self government in the early periods, but it completely disappeared by the end of the 14th century when as a result of Turkish invasions several ancient institutions were uprooted. The inscriptions of our period do not refer to assemblies of this type. The village came to be administered

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52. These assemblies practically exercised all powers of the state. They were looked upon as part and parcel of the constitution of the country and were entrusted with the entire management of the village. The assembly possessed "corporate property which it could sell for public purposes, such as providing for the necessities of a temple which seems to have been looked upon as an important part of its duties. It was a trustee for public charities of all kinds and received deposits of money, land and paddy, to provide out of their interest the things stipulated by the donors ..... could regulate the market and assign particular place for the sale of particular commodities, it could regularly impose taxes and even levy extra tolls for specific objects of public utility ..... " (Majumdar: Corporate Life in Ancient India, p.69). These Mahajanas also exercised Judicial powers. (Epi. Report for 1914 pp.96-97).



by a group of village officers called Āyagars. The village Karanam or Sēnabōva, Koddi or Gauda, and Talārī, crown's representatives in the village grew in prominence and exercised all the powers previously exercised by the village assemblies. The beginnings of this āyagar system are difficult to trace. Yet as has been observed by Dr. Venkataramanayya<sup>53</sup> it was in full force under the Kakatiyas. The territories over which Kakatiyas ruled subsequently came under the Reddis and from the Reddis they passed under the Gajapatis. Since this institution functioned even after the downfall of the Gajapatis it may be accepted that it existed in the time of the Gajapatis as well, although there is no specific record available to that effect.

The Karanam or Sēnabōva:— He was the village accountant and was a person of much consequence. This office is a very ancient one. Some of the Western Calukyan grants dated in 11th century A.D., refer to this office.<sup>54</sup> Dr. Fleet thinks that the functions of a Karanam or Sēnabōva, ~~there~~<sup>55</sup> were similar to those of a Kulakarni. Just like the village Karanam or Sēnabōva, there were Karanams over Sthalas. The Local Records refer to a favour shown to one Niyogi Brāhmana

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53. Studies in the third dynasty of Vijayanagara, p.161.

54. An inscription of King Vikramāditya (I.A., V p.344) mentions a Sēnabōva.

55. J.B.B.R.A.S. XII, p.398 H (20).





Nassanka by Kapilendra Deva. It seems that this Brahmana served the king very faithfully and in reward <sup>for</sup> to his service the king was pleased to appoint him as Sthala Karanam over twentyone sthalas or Rajahmundry Bandapatha. On that occasion, the king conferred on him the title of 'Patra' and the right to ride in a palanquin. Thenceforward that Brahmana came to be known as 'Nissanka Nayani Mahapatra.'<sup>56</sup>

The office of the Karanam was hereditary and he was not paid in cash by the government. He was assigned plots of village land known as Mirasi. Each riyot in the village was expected to measure out a fixed quantity of the paddy produced at the harvest season. Under the Gajapatis the salary of the Sthala Karanam was fixed as "one Varaha for every hundred and one tun for every Putty from the land."

The Reddi who was always associated with the Karanam had the collection of Revenue due to the state as his main duty. These two were virtually the rulers of the village.

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56.

56 The account of Local Records, published in 'Javanti', Vol.I, p.64 ff.





EDUCATION in ancient India was ~~not~~ mainly the concern of the individual and Educational institutions maintained by the Government for the public were very rare. Private teacher living on the voluntary contributions of the parents of his pupils was the centre of the system. "Corporate educational ~~institutions~~ <sup>organisations</sup> were first evolved in connection with Buddhist monasteries and they grew into importance as centres of education under the patronage of kings.<sup>1</sup>"

The ~~temple~~ and ~~Agrahāra~~ later carried on the traditions of learning once peculiar to Buddhist monasteries. The Malkāpuram inscription of Rudramadevi supplies us with interesting details about a College at Mandaram established by Visvēśvara Sambhu, the famous Śaiva teacher of the day. "At Mandaram the teacher established a temple for the God Visvēśvara, built a monastery and a feeding house, settled many Brāhmanas and gave the village the name Visvēśvara Gōlaki."<sup>2</sup> The land of the village he divided into three parts and gave one for the maintenance of the students. "There were three teachers appointed for teaching the Vēdas - Rig, Yajus and Sāman, and five teachers appointed for teaching logic, literature, and the ~~śāstras~~ <sup>śāstras</sup>."<sup>3</sup> This inscription of the Kakatiya Queen is dated 1261 A.D.

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1. Education in Ancient India. P.246.

2. An. Rep. on Epigraphy, 1917, p.122 ff.

3. Ibid.



Another inscription<sup>4</sup> from Simhachalam temple dated 1291 A.D., which records the donations of Narāyana Sēnāpati the Parikṣa of Kalingadēsa under the Eastern Gāṅga King Pratāpa Vira Narasimha Dēva, enables us to infer that things were not different in Orissan kingdom in that period.

Agrahāras, as has been said already, were also centres of higher education.<sup>5</sup> Some of the copper plate grants of the Gajapati monarchs which record donations to learned Brāhmanas enable us to glean the curriculum of the higher education of the day. The Chiruvrōlu plates of Hanvira mention the names of a number of learned Brāhmanas and the chief donee was one Aubhalabhatta of Naisadhā family. He is described as a master of several languages

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4. 292 of 1899. The inscription records some of the arrangements made by Narāyana Sēnāpati son of Gōpala Mahāsēnāpati, the Parikṣa of Kalinga dēsa.

కాండవతె అర్చయ నామలవరించెనె  
అది కా శత్రై సమల కృ యెడలె ..... 3 ఎ బంధనలు.  
పురాణ, వాన్ కరణ, కాప్ర నాట  
కాభ ధానా లప లింపెనె డి వి  
ద్రీక్షా ప్రసాద య మూ ఘోరకు ..... 5  
మంపరి పరీకుఁడొన్ప క

వియం

5. These advanced studies presuppose the ability to read and write. It appears, as has been observed by Dr. Altekar (Ras/trakutas, p.399), that primary education was imparted to the boys either by the village priest or the village accountant.



and well versed in Vādas and Bhāṣyas. Similarly the Gōpīnāthpur inscription of Kapilendra mentions the Mimāṃsa Vedāntika poet

Jagall. "मीमांसकस्य निगमान्तविचारपार संचारणस्य  
कविपण्डितगोविनाथात् । जातरस्य  
जागदिकवेः . . . . ."

verse 29.

The Anantavaram plates of Pratāparudra record the grant of an agrahara by Pratāparudra to 128 Brahmanas who were profound scholars in different branches of knowledge.

[అదానామై?] మాతా మూడి ప్రవిదితధర్మ దేవరమాస్రహార,  
వేదైవ్యైష్ట్య ధర్మ కృతపత్నీ స సరాజాననపౌఢవాన్ధిః  
కర్ణవాక్య ప్రమాణా స్మృతపద పరవీ వ్యాకృత బ్యాత  
మృత్తైః, శాగానామప్తవింశత్యైర్థిక కతమితా  
క్రీస్తు సంఖ్యావిశ్వాత...

Anantavaram Plates.

6. Chiruvrōlu Plates. Bharati. Nov. 1941. PP. 521 ff.

..... శాగానామ స వాద స్వవికారదాయతే.  
వేదేషు సవేదేషు చతు మూఢ బాంధవే శా  
వాన్ధి కాస్త్రైషు పృథక్ కృతాయతే.....

Lines 6-8. Plate III, first side.

7. J.A.S.B. Vol. LXIX, part I, 1900, p. 175 ff.



From this it can be inferred that the Purāṇas, Smṛtis, logic and metaphysics were studied by the students of those days.

Literature:— The Gajapati dynasty though a short lived one (of about 120 years) contributed a great deal to the progress of literature. Their vast kingdom was inhabited by different linguistic groups, the Telugu, the Oriya, and the Bengali. But Sanskrit was the language of the learned. Caitanya the great Waiṣṇava apostle of the day, like Buddha wanted to popularise his religion among the lower classes. To cater to their needs he was driven to the necessity of using vernacular languages (instead of Sanskrit) as the medium of expressing his ideas on Bhakti. Several people became converts and they in their newly inculcated zeal for Bhakti produced several works on religion in their simple rustic style in local languages and thereby enriched the vernacular literature of that age.

Hence the literature of the period is mainly religious in character. It does not mean that there were no works of secular nature, but a majority of works produced were manifestations of religious spirit.

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8. Sarasvatī Vilāsa. The work supposed to be a composition of Gajapati Pratāparudra, was an addition to Dharma Śāstra literature made by the Gajapati during this period. This well serves as an illustration of works of secular nature.



Sanskrit:-- Sanskrit was the language of the learned, and specially there seems to have been a craving for Sanskrit and sanskritic studies both among the Brāhmanas and Kshatriyas. These people looked down upon the works of Sudras written in Vernacular languages.

Excepting the copper axe head inscription of the Puruṣōttama Gajapati all the other charters are in Sanskrit language. The Gōpī-<sup>9</sup>nāthpur inscription is in Oriya characters but the language is sanskrit.<sup>10</sup> All the copper plate charters of Pratāparudra are invariably written in Sanskrit and Nagari Script. The Prasasti's of these inscriptions written in high flowm Sanskrit style form the best specimen<sup>11</sup> of the literature of the period. They were undoubtedly compositions of poets of a very high order patronized by the Gajapatis, though all their names have not come down to us.

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9. A. V. 7 P. 355  
9. ~~J. A. S. B. Vol. LXXIX, part I, 1900, p. 175 ff.~~ ; ICN, Vol. I, p. 255.  
10. J. A. S. B. Vol. LXXIX, part I, 1900, p. 175 ff.  
11. Generally the inscriptions are in verse occasionally interspersed with small sentences in prose. Most of the verses were written in Anustub, Indravṛja, Upendravraja, Urutavilambita, Śardūla, Indravansa, Pancachamara.



Writers of the Period:— The kings were not merely patrons of literature but were themselves highly accomplished writers. About Kapi-  
lendra we do not have much information. A man who had spent the  
whole of his life in war can be least expected to have any time to  
devote to these 'arts of peace'. But his son Purusottama was a  
highly learned man and the Sarasvativilasa pays glorious tributes for  
his learning.

वीरजी पुरुषोत्तमो राजपति  
विद्वत्समायत्तरे ।  
हो यो विक्रमिणां कथास्तु नितरां  
हो वाहिभूजो विभुः ॥

12

Purusottama took keen interest in almost all branches of Sanskritic  
studies. He is credited with the composition of a Dandaka<sup>13</sup> (Stōtra).  
All his works are not published. He wrote <sup>14</sup> 'Abhinava Gitagovinda'

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12. Sarasvati Vilāsa.

13. The Manuscript of this work is available with a pandit at Puri.  
See Mr. Mukherji's article. Indian Historical Quarterly,  
Vol. XXI, No. 1, March 1945, p. 34 ff.

14. No. 4091, Des. Cat. of Mss. in collections of Asiatic Society of  
Bengal. Maraprasada Sastry, Vol. VII, Kavya Manuscripts.





in about 800 slokas. The Manuscript of this work in Oriya character is available in the collections of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

The Colophon of that work reads:

" इति श्री पुरुषोत्तमदेवगजपति महाराजकृते  
अभिनवमीतगोविन्दमद्यकाये . . . . .  
शानन्दमुकुन्दो नाम दशमरसगीः "

Purusottamadēva after a careful study of the Puranas viz., Viṣṇu, Brahma, Padma, Śaiva, Bhāgavata, Nāradya, Markandeya, Agni, Bhaviṣyat, Brahmakāivarta, Liṅga, Varāha, Skānda, Kūrma, Mātsya, Garuda and Brahmandā, composed a work called Nāgamalika on the merits of chanting Hari's name. The colophon reads: " इति श्री गजपति पुरुषोत्तमदेवसंगीता नाममालिका समाप्ता ..

Being a devout worshipper of God Gopāla at Nilādri (Jagannātha) he wrote on the details connected with his worship called Gopālārchanā-Vidhi. This work forms a part of bigger work known as Āgamakalpataru.

Its colophon runs as follows: इति श्री आगमकल्पतरौ  
वैष्णवस्कन्धे गोपालाष्टाशया मन्त्रपञ्चके  
महाराजाधिराज पुरुषोत्तमदेवविरचिते  
गोपालार्चनाविधिः "

16.

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15. 9448. Des.Cat. of Mss. in the collection of Asiatic Society of Bengal.  
16. 3967. Tri.Cat. of Dis.Cat. of Sanskrit Manuscripts 1919-20 - 21-22.



Among the published works of this monarch may be mentioned two sanskrit lexicons, the Haravali and Trikandāsāsam. The former begins with the verse

శ్లో. ముక్తా మయా చ మధురామ సృణావదాతే  
బాహ్యయాధిరాగతరమిమలసర్వకాత్రిక  
సాధ్వీ సతాం శిష్యుడు కంఠమసృప్రియేప  
హారావళి విరచితా పురుషోత్తమేన ॥.

He collected words that did not find mention in Amarasinha's Namalinganūsāsana and wrote the latter lexicon to serve as an appendix to that work. At the end he gave his name and the title of this work as

"అతాకి కతావ దమరః ప్రకాశేన యానినామాని సముల్లలేష  
విలా క్షితైరప్రభునా ప్రభారం రియం ప్రయత్నిపురుషోత్తమేన ॥"  
ఇతి ప్రపురుషోత్తమేన విరచిత స్త్రీకాండశ్చోషాదా  
నకాశ స్సమాప్తః ॥

In the Padavali of Rupa Gosvāmin - an anthology of verses - one verse supposed to have been written by an 'Autkala' is ascribed to Purusottamadēva. Since some of the Manuscripts give the full name of the author as 'Gajapati Purusottamadēva' the 'Autkala' of the

17. 15-7 No.163-3. No.224 Padavali.



Anthology may be identical with Purusōttama.

Pratānarudra:— Purusōttama was succeeded by his son Pratānarudra, the last Gajapati monarch on the throne of Orissa. Inscriptions are not tired of praising his learning. .... " కల్పకర్మశాస్త్రముం యం

కవిబుద్ధిని కిరణదానికైం ద్రుభావమే, లోకాః  
పీయూషభానుం సకలజనమనారంభినా  
దారవేషం, కంఠానై క్షుత్రచేతం  
కమలభవమపి పౌత్రవిద్యా యతఃవా."

18  
Anantavaram Plates.

and Sarasvatī Vilāsa describes him as

"स्वयं विद्याधरः सद्गोपि किंकरी कृत  
विद्याधरः"

19

He was himself a big scholar and writer and patronized several men of learning. He is credited with the composition of

1. Kautuka Cintāmani 2. Miraya Sangraha 3. Praudha Pratāpa Martanda
4. Sarasvatī Vilāsa.

The third of the list is available in Manuscripts. In its colophon the king is described thus: " गजपतिगौडेस्वर

नवकोटिकर्णीक कलबरगीश्वर

रूपनाशश्च - . . . . . etc." The work is

18. Andhra Patrika Annual, 1928.

19. Sarasvatī Vilāsa.



divided into five Prakāśas namely Padārthanirnaya, Vatsarāḍhinirūpaṇa, Tithinirūpaṇa, Vṛtanirnaya and Vismubhakti. Therein he expressly mentions as his authorities, Hemādri, Kalpataru, Ratnākara, Mitākṣara, Mādhaviya, Anantabhatta, Smṛti Candrika, Aparārka, Pārijāta, Kālā-darsa etc. The last is published, but its authorship is disputed.

Literary Circle of Prataparudra:— Learned men from adjoining parts of India flocked to the Court of Prataparudra and there no scholar was ever denied patronage. The Vidyotsabha was an impressive gathering of several literary men well versed in different branches of learning.

Vasudeva Sarvabhauma:— Among the important scholars of the day the name of 'Sarvabhauma' the great Professor of Navya Nyaya stands out

20. No.4104. Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts, by Haraprasada Sastri and Mitra, Vol.X, p.222 ff.

21. See Appendix. II AP 299 64

22. In the contemporary Bengal the ruler Hussain Shah was a tyrant and he systematically persecuted Brahmanas specially the learned of Navadvipa and other places. This policy of persecution forced 'old Vasudeva Sarvabhauma' to seek shelter at the Court of Prataparudra. (Jayananda - Gaitanya Mangala).

23. Nyaya signifies 'logic' and is the name given to one of the six Darśanas or systems of philosophies. Its founder was Gautama or Aksapada. Gautama Sūtras composed about 150 B.C. contain the fundamental ideas or principles and a true knowledge of their nature leads to the final emancipation of the soul. It was very popular in India and for a long time served as the basis for all philosophical research. There are two stages in the history of its development. The Prācīna or the old stage and the Navya or the new stage. Gautama Sūtras were commented by Vatsyayana in the 4th century and it was later criticised by Minnaga the Buddhist thinker. It was once again defended by Uddyōtakara in his Vārtika. The first phase in the history of Nyaya comes to a close with Nyāya-mañjari of Jayanta Bhatta. The new phase (Navya) commences from the 12th century with the epoch making work, Tattvacinātmanī of Gaṅgēśa of East Bengal. The main differences between this and the old one are while the Prācīna Nyaya, represented a separate independent system of philosophy, the new one helped us only for the cultivation of precision in thought and expression, but proved philosophically barren. This school of Navya Nyaya was well developed by Vasudeva Sarvabhauma and later by Raghunātha the founder of Navadvipa school.



prominent. He was the son of Visarada and originally an inhabitant of Navadvīpa in Bengāl. After completing the study of Smṛti under his father tradition affirms that he went to Mithila to learn the niceties of Nyāya dialectics under Pakṣadhara Mīśra. During his stay at Mithila he got to memory the whole of Tattva Cintāmaṇi. After the completion of his studies he passed through the 'Śalāka Parīkṣa' with credit and earned for himself the title Sārvabhauma. Then he proceeded to Benares to have his lessons in Vedānta and returned to Navadvīpa when he started the 'first school of Nyāya in Bengāl.' This school later under the guidance of his student Raghunātha developed into the famous university of Navadvīpa. He was singularly fortunate in having a set of brilliant students, viz., (1) Viśvambhara (later Caitanya) (2) Raghunātha, whose Dīchitī has been a perennial

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24. Mithila was the principal seat of Hindu learning in the 13th, 14th, 15th centuries A.D., and large number of students flocked there from all parts of India to study specially Logic or Nyaya Philosophy.

25. At the end of the course the student was subjected to a difficult test called Śalāka Parīkṣa or 'Probe examination' in the course of which he had to explain any leaf of a Manuscript that was pierced last by the probe as it was pushed into the Manuscript. (History of Indian Logic by Dr. Satishchandra Vidyabhusana, p.461).

26. History of Indian Logic. Appendix G. p.525 ff.



fountain of inspiration to all lovers of Philosophy, (3) Raghunandana, whose famous Smṛti compilation Astāvimsati Tattva still governs the cause of Orthodox life in Bengal, and lastly (4) Kṛṣṇanānda Āgamavāgīśa, who revived the Tantric <sup>Studies</sup> ~~Literature~~ <sup>27</sup> by his compositions.

Unfortunately all the works of Vāsudeva Sarvabhauma on Nyaya have not come down to us except his commentary on Tattva Cintamani named Saravali. He bade good-bye to his Nyaya studies when as a result of the persecution of Sultan Hussain Shah he was forced to leave Navadvipa to seek shelter at the court of Pratāparudra at Puri. On his arrival at his court Pratāparudra 'worshipped him presenting him with a golden throne.' <sup>28</sup> At Puri he devoted himself to Vedantic studies and wrote a commentary on Lakṣmidhara's Advaita Makaranda and Gopinatha Kaviraja informs us that a manuscript of it copied in S.1551 (1629 A.D.) is still preserved in the Sankara Matha at Puri. In the colophon of that the author calls himself 'गौडचार्य सार्वभौम भट्टाचार्यः' <sup>29</sup>. Early in 1510 A.D. he was converted to Vaishnavism by Caitanyadeva and thenceforward he was a Vaishnava of the truest type.

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27. Gopinatha Kaviraja - History of Bibliography of Nyaya Vaisṛsika Literature. Sarasvati Bhavan Series, Vol.IV.

28. Sen. His. of Ben. Lang. and Literature. p.476

29. Sarasvati Bhavan Series, Vol.IV.



He wrote several stōtras in praise of the three 'brother prophets of Bengal' - Caitanya, Nityānanda and Advaita. He acted as the Chief Pandit of Pratāparudra's Court and the Superintendent of Jagannātha temple and was looked upon 'as the universal referee in Orissa specially on points of law, ritual, Philosophy and religion.'

2 Vāhinipati:— Vāsudeva's son Janēśvara Vāhinipati Mahāpātra also lived at the Court of Pratāparudra. The title 'Vāhinipati Mahāpātra' was a distinction conferred on him by Pratāparudra Gajapati. Like his father he was also a student of Vyāsa and wrote a commentary on Āloka (Śabda Khanda) named Uddvṛta. A copy of this work is still preserved in the Library of Sanskrit College, Benares.

3 Lolla Lakṣmīdhara Pandita:— Another important luminary of the court of Pratāparudra was Lakṣmīdhara. He was the son of Viśvanātha Bhaṭṭāraka and belonged to Hārīta Gōtra. In the colophon of his commentary on Saundaryalahari <sup>30</sup> he gives the family history and geneology as follows:

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30. Colophon. Saundaryalahari Vyākhyā. Des. Capt Sans. Mss. in Oriental Library, Madras, Vol.19, p.7396.



Mahamahopādhyāya Mahādōvācārya

Lakṣmīdhara - author of Sāhitya Parijata and Smṛti Kalpatara.

Virūchi - author of Bharatārṇava and Sāhitya Mimāṃsa.

Purusōttama Mahopādhyāya

Mahamahopādhyāya Lakṣmanārya - author of Prabhākara Bhūtarāhini  
Prabhāva and Khandana Khandam.

Mahamahopādhyāya Vidvatsārvabhauma Viśvanātha Bhattāraka - author of  
Navavivēkadīpika.

Lakṣmīdhara.

Lakṣmīdhara was a versatile scholar and wrote several works to which the colophon referred to above bears testimony. They are -

- (1) Vacaspati Vilāsa. (2) Yogadīpika (3) Manava Dharma Sastra dipika.  
(4) Karmavataṃsa. (5) Saundaryalahari Vyākhyā etc.

All of them are not available to-day, but the number of Manuscripts, of Saundaryalahari in Telugu and other scripts, scattered all over the country, goes to prove the worth of the work. He appears to have had several students, one of whom was <sup>31</sup>Dēśayāmatya, the assistant of Nāḍindla Gopaprabhu, ruler of Konḍaviḍu under Kṛṣṇarāya.

Pratāparudra bestowed upon Lakṣmīdhara in 1500 A.D., the village Anantavaram <sup>32</sup>as an agrahāra. He was the author of 'Sarasvatī Vilāsa' the work on 'Dharma Sāstra' (Vyavahāra) but it

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31. Sources, p.151.

32. Anantavaram Plates of Prataparudra. Andhra Patrika Annual, 1928.





was made popular as a work of Gajapati Pratāparudra. It may not be improbable if we presume that it was the earliest of Lakṣmīdhara's compilations and he himself had passed it on under the name of the king Pratāparudra to gain his favour.<sup>33</sup> His work 'Advaita Makaranda'<sup>34</sup> a book on Philosophy was commented upon by the great Nyaya Scholar at the court of Pratāparudra, Vāsudēva Sārvabhauma.<sup>35</sup>

Subsequent to the defeat of Pratāparudra at the hands of Kṛṣṇarāya, Lakṣmīdhara migrated to the court of Vijayanagara where he continued his literary career. The exact date of his migration cannot be fixed, yet we can say it happened sometime before 1520 A.D. For the Kaza and Mangalagiri records of Kṛṣṇarāya were composed by him as a court poet of Vijayanagara and the records are dated 1520 A.D. So he must have migrated to Vijayanagara sometime before 1520 A.D.

One of his verses composed in praise of Kṛṣṇarāya has come down to us. It runs as follows:

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33. See Appendix. II PP2994

34. No.4521. Des.Cat. of Sans. Mss. in the Oriental Library, Madras, Vol.IX.

35. History and Bibliography of Nyāyavaiśeṣika Literature - Gopinatha Kaviraja. Sarasvati Bhavan studies, Vol.IV.



श्री कृष्णशक्तिपाल दत्त मणिधरि विद्वत्कवीनां गृहाः  
नानारत्न विचित्रकुट्टिमम्युबो रत्नाकरत्नंगताः।  
अब्धिः केवलवारिपूरनिलयः संयायते सल्लनैः  
अंभोधिरजलधिः पयोधिरुदधि वीरान्निधिर्वीरिधिः।”

<sup>36</sup>  
His pupil Dēśayamātya, the author of the commentary on Mahimnāstava  
Pancika informs us that Lakmidhara was well versed in Astrology and  
Astronomy and this is borne out by his work titled Jyotiśadarpana.

- 4 Divākara:— He was a grammarian, patronised by Prataparudra. He  
was a son of Vaidyēśvara of Bhāradwāja Gōtra and Vājasaneyā Sakha.  
He was the nephew of Nārāyaṇa Kaviratna and the brother of Gōvinda  
and Madhusūdana. He was the author of “Abhinava Gita Gōvinda<sup>37</sup>  
attributed to Gaṇapati Puruṣkottama and Dhūrta Carita, a Bhāṇa and  
a hymn in praise of Durga in hundred verses.” His more famous works  
are Lakṣanādarśa,<sup>38</sup> a treatise narrating the story of the Pāṇḍavas,

36. Sources, p.151.

37. 5181. Des.Cat. of Sans. Mss. in the collection of Asiatic Society  
of Bengal by, H.P.Sastri, Vol.VII.(Kavya Mss.). But Dhūrta Carita  
was a composition of his brother Madhusudana — See M.Krishna-  
machariar 'Classical Sanskrit Literature, page 237.

38. R.3826. Tr.Cat. of Sans.Mss. of Oriental Library Madras,  
1919-1920 to 1921-22. p.5664.



each 'sarga' illustrates certain points and peculiarities of Grammar. <sup>39</sup>

The book is not complete but breaks off in the middle. At the end

of each chapter there is colophon which reads: "इति लक्षणादर्शे  
पाण्डवचरिते महाकाव्ये पाणिनीयकुटादिभूवादिपादद्वय  
लक्ष्यसङ्गः ६ः पाण्डवविवासो नाम प्रथमस्सर्गः".  
इति लक्षणादर्शे महाकाव्ये सहोपाध्याय जीविवाकर  
विरचिते उत्तरपलायनं नाम तयोदशस्सर्गः

39. The subject/matter he has divided into 14 chapters and in each chapter he narrates the story of the Pandavas, at the same time discussing certain Grammatical peculiarities.

1. पाण्डव विवासः ( कुटादिभूवादि पादद्वयलक्ष्यसङ्गः ६ः )
2. पुरीवर्तनम् ( पाणिनीयसंज्ञासंप्रकरणम् )
3. कृष्णापाण्डवसंयोगः ( पाणिनीयानुक्तसमासप्रकरणम् )
4. द्रौपदीवाक्यम् ( अनभिहितपादप्रकरणम् )
5. बलभद्रवाक्यम् ( पाणिनीयप्रत्ययपादसङ्गः ६ः )
6. हरिश्चापारः ( कर्मपादलक्ष्यसङ्गः ६ः )
7. कृष्णाकीचकाथिनापः ( कर्मपादलक्ष्यसङ्गः ६ः )
8. द्रौपद्यवमानः ( सम्बन्धपादद्वयलक्ष्यसङ्गः ६ः )
9. द्रौपद्युपाख्यानः ( पाणिनीयरक्तपादलक्ष्यसङ्गः ६ः )
10. कीचकवधः ( ठगधिकारलक्ष्यसङ्गः ६ः )
11. भीमसेनविजयः ( युष्मत्पादठञ् प्रकरणम् )
12. पाण्डवसारथ्यम् ( क्रीतपादप्रकरणम् )
13. उत्तरकुमारपलायनम् ( विभक्तिपादप्रकरणम् )
14. बृहन्नलायुद्धम् ( समासान्तसन्नतप्रकरणम् )



Another important work of Divakara was 'Bharatāmṛtam', the manuscript copies of which are available both in the collections of Asiatic Society of Bengal and Oriental Manuscripts Library at Madras. The Manuscripts in Madras Oriental Library do not mention the name of the author but say that he was the son of Mukṭāmba and Vaidyēśvara. It is also stated that one Govinda son of a paternal uncle helped the author in the revision of the work. The author's other works are as mentioned in the colophone, "Pāriṭāharana Nāṭaka" and "Rasamanjari". Kṛṣṇarāya and Allasāni Poddana severally claim authorship of a work "Rasamanjari".

'Bharatāmṛtam' is a poem narrating the story of Mahabharata and the author at the end of each sarga wrote colophons in which he gave some details about his family.

Colophon:— आदतामृते सुराकाये पार्थिवनुविद्या नाम

यं प्रासूत पतिव्रता गृणवती मुक्ता विमुक्तासनः  
श्री वैद्येश्वरतो विभूषित भरद्वाजान्वयादात्मजम्  
यश्चक्रे रसमञ्जरीति रसिका क्लादाय पद्यावलिं  
सर्गस्तत्कृत काव्य एष गृणवान्तैक विंशो मतः ॥

40. No.4121, of Vol.VII. Kavya Manuscripts of the Cat. of Manuscripts in the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

41. No.3002. Tr. Cat. of Sans. Mss. 1919-20 to 21-22. p.4368-69.



यं प्रासूत . . . . . दासजम् ।  
गोविन्दः कविश्चोस्वरः कतिपये हस्तावल्ग्वः पितुः  
भ्रातृयो २ जनि यस्य तस्य सुकृतौ द्वाविंशसर्गो गतः॥

यं प्रासूत . . . . . दासजम्  
यस्यापत्कविचन्द्रायपदवीं श्रीरुद्रभूमीभुजः  
सर्गस्तद्विनिबद्ध काव्यतिरुके ऽसौ पंचविंशो गतः।

यं प्रासूत . . . . . दासजम् ।  
रम्यं चाकृत पारिजातहरणं सन्नाटकं यस्तय  
स्तिंशस्तत्कृत काव्य एव विरतिं सर्गो ऽ नवद्योगतः ॥

यस्मिन्ना कविडिण्डिमोऽपि कवितावादे जितस्तत्कृतौ -

Pratāparudra honoured Divākara by conferring on him the title ~~कवि~~  
~~यस्य~~, and he lived at the court of the Gajapati until Kṛṣṇa-  
rāya conquered Pratāparudra. Divākara like his friend Lakṣmīdhara  
migrated to the court of Kṛṣṇarāya and continued his literary career  
at Vijayanagara.<sup>42</sup>

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42. M. Krishnamachariyar: Classical Sanskrit Literature, para 237.



5 Jivadeva:— Another Sanskrit poet patronized by Prataparudra was Jivadeva. In his Bhaktivaibhava Nataka he says that he was the son of Srimat Kaviraja, Rajaguru, Trilochanacharya. His full name appears to be Sriman Mahamahopadhyaya Kavidindima Vahinipati Rajaguru Sri Jivadevacharya.

His work Bhaktivaibhava Nataka is written in Oriya characters and contains about 2800 shlokas. In the colophon he gives details about his family and mentions that he was patronized by Raja Prataparudra.

The founder of this family was one Gopaladeva, who served as the 'Purohit' or 'Rajaguru' of Nissanka Bhairudeva, last of the Eastern Ganga kings and Kapilendra deva, the founder of the Gajapati dynasty and grandfather of Raja Prataparudra, the patron of Jivadeva. Trilochana Kaviraja, father of Jivadeva served Purusottama as his 'Rajaguru'. Jivadeva bears the title of Vahinipati in the colophon. It may be an honour conferred on him by Prataparudra. The Drama Bhaktivaibhava consists of nine acts and at the end of each act we find the colophon reading:

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43. Report on the search for Sanskrit Manuscripts, 1901-1902 to 1905-1906, p.14-16. Haraprasada Sastri.



इति जीमत्कविडिण्डिम राजगुरु जीवदेवाचार्य  
विरचिते भक्तिवैभवनाटके विद्याविलोको नाम  
प्रथमोऽंकः . . . . .

इति जीमत्कविराज राजगुरु तिलोचनाचार्य-  
तनय जीशगवद्वासुदेव भक्तिप्रस्थान प्रणय  
परमाचार्य जीमन्महामहोपाध्याय जी  
कवि डिण्डिमवाहिनीपति राजगुरु जी  
जीवदेवाचार्य विरचिते भक्तिवैभव  
नाटके पाषण्ड मण्डलो नाम चतुर्थोऽंकः .

अष्टौ द्वाटकचामराणि कनकच्छतं उमडिण्डिमं  
यो लब्ध्वा प्रथितप्रतापविभवः जीरुददेवेज्वरात् ।  
जी जीवः कवि डिण्डिमो नृप गुरुः षड्दक्षिणी पण्डितो  
भक्तिप्रस्थितदेशिको . . . दीक्षागुरुः ॥



We can infer from the 'colophon' quoted above that Jivādōva was a great Vēdānta Scholar, well versed in the six Darśanas<sup>45</sup> (षड्दर्शिनी षडितो ) and that he was a great Bhakta. He might have come under the hypnotic influence of Lord Caitanya who stayed at Puri during this period.

Bhakti Bhāgavata Mahākāvya was also the work of Jivādōva, dedicated to Pratāparudra. This work in the Prasasti portion gives some interesting information about the Gajapati dynasty, their regnal period and their charities and conquest.

- 6 Rāmananda Rāya:— Rāmananda Rāya belonged to the prominent Karna family of Orissa and was the oldest of five sons of Bhavananda Patnaik of Uttack. "He is said to have possessed a very keen interest and high sense of Duty<sup>47</sup>. Pratāparudra took him into his service and appointed him as a governor over Rajamundry and dependent territory on the River Gōdāvari. He came into the orbit of Caitanya's influence while the 'Master was on his way to the south' and on that occasion

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45. Yōga, Sāṅkhya, Pūrvenimāṃsa (Karmakanda), Uttaranimāṃsa (Vēdānta), Nyāya, Vaiśeṣika.

46. Report on the search for Sanskrit Manuscripts - (1901-1902 - 1905-1906 p.14-16).

47. Tarinicharan Rath. 'Rāmananda' J.B.O.R.S. Vol. XIII





when they both met, there was a long discussion on Philosophy and finally Caitanya convinced him of the superiority of Bhakti Marga. Thence forward he became a Vaiṣṇava and stayed with Caitanya resigning his responsible job. He made popular his philosophy known as 'Rāgānuga's cult' where he emphasised the 'prema' aspect of Bhakti.

He also deviated from the old form of bhājana and followed a particular mode of dancing while doing bhājana. He was a great scholar and writer. His drama known as 'Jagannātha Vallabha Nāṭakam' consists of five acts of amorous pastimes of Kṛṣṇa with Rādhā. Its colophon reads:

लघुतरललितकंधरं हसितवदन सुन्दरं  
गजपति प्रतापरुद्र हृदयानुगीत मनुदिनम्  
सरसं रचयति रामानन्द रायः ॥

जीववानन्दरायस्य तनुजेन जी  
रामानन्दरायेण

This drama was enacted before Gajapati Pratāparudra.

Rāmananda was instrumental, according to Caitanya Caritāmṛta, in the conversion of Pratāparudra to Caitanya's Creed.

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48. Caitanya Caritāmṛta:

49. 3549. Dis.Cat.Sans. Mss. in the collection of Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol.VII.



II Oriya Literature:--- The Eastern Gāṅga monarchs who preceded the Gajapati dynasty on the throne of Orissa, were not great patrons of Oriya Literature. There is not even a single literary composition in Oriya whose date can be assigned to their period of rule. This was probably due to their partiality towards Sanskrit. But from the finished form of the poem Kēśava Koili which in the opinion of Mr. Majumdar was composed sometime before 1450, it must be presumed that the foundations "for the literary culture of the Vernacular" were laid in the time of the later Gāṅgas who made Orissa their home.

The rise of the truly Oriya dynasty of the Gajapatis and the influence of Vaisnavism kindled the literary genius of the people and stimulated the growth of vernacular literature. In spite of the fact that the Gajapati monarchs were enthusiastic patrons of Oriya literature curiously enough, no contemporary Oriya poet has sung the achievements of these monarchs. On the otherhand all the works of the period are mainly the manifestations of the religious spirit of the <sup>age</sup> ~~period~~.

Koili lyrics are the earliest compositions in Oriya literature. 'It is a monologue and the person whose words the poet versifies discloses his thoughts to a Cuckoo bird by addressing it O Koili; these portions form the burden of the poem.' <sup>50</sup> Kēśava Koili

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50. Intro. T.S.O.L. p.20.



or Yasōda Kōili of Mārkaṇḍeya Dās was the earliest of this series. W.W.Hunter suggested that this Kōili was atleast five hundred years old. But Manmohan Chakravarti for different reasons thinks that it is three hundred years old. Since Jagannātha Dās has referred to this Kōili in his own work (Artha Kōili) it must be earlier to that of Jagannātha Dās. The latter lived at the Court of Pratāparudra, and so Mārkaṇḍeya Dās should have been a contemporary of either Kapilēndra or Purusōttama. To the reign of Purusōttama may be assigned Kanta Kōili of Balaramādās.

The earliest period of Oriya literature can be easily characterised as the age of Translations. Saraladās, Balaramādās and Jagannāthdās the authors respectively of Mahabharata, Bhāgavata, and Rāmāyana were the early poets. These works were not literal translations of the Sanskrit into Oriya but adaptations of them in Oriya. They developed their own metres in writing verses. Chautīsā form of poems are the special contributions of Orissa. "A chautīsā should contain thirty four lines at least and the letters ka to ksa should be the initial letter of the lines in regular succession." <sup>51</sup> This method was the outcome of the influence of mystic religious value attached to each and every letter in Trantric system which had a stronghold in Orissa. Poems like Rasakallōla of Dinakṛṣṇa Dās were written in this form.

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51. Ibid.



As has been mentioned already the religious revival brought about by Caitanya and his predecessors turned the current of popular thought towards worship of Kṛṣṇa. The Rasakallōla was an illustration of the outcome of poetic thought in that direction. The author of this work was Dīn Kṛṣṇa Dāsa, a Vaisnava living at the temple of Jagannātha at Pūrī. His date is approximately ascertained by the fact that some of the verses of his in praise of the reigning sovereign Puruṣōttama are still extant.<sup>52</sup> The work itself consists of 32 cantoes varying in length from 50 to 150 lines, and was written in pure colloquial Oriya. The special feature of this poem is 'the readiness with which the ~~poet~~ poet's native language lends itself to the metres which he employs.'<sup>53</sup> This work is very popular in Orissa, its songs are sung by common folk in every part of the country and many of its lines have passed into proverbs. This popularity was mainly due to the fact that it is free from long Sanskrit words.

#### EARLY POETS.

1. Saralā Dāsa:— The period is marked by the composition of religious epics. Saraladāsa's Māha-Bhārata comes first in point of time. He was not so devout a worshipper of Viṣṇu as he was of Candī. This

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52. Beams, I.A., Vol.I. p.215 ff.

53. Ibid. p.292.



he expresses in one of the colophons<sup>54</sup> of Mahabharata. He was a Sudra by birth and was an inhabitant of Jhankurpur. In some of the verses in the introductory chapters of Mahabharata, he refers to his ruler Kapilendra<sup>55</sup> and as such he must have flourished during the reign of the first Gajapati monarch. This author acquired celebrity in Bengal and Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen informs us that his Mahabharata was translated into Bengali and that it is very popular in Bengal.

2

Balaram Das was the celebrated author of Okiya Ramayana.<sup>56</sup> From the colophons<sup>56</sup> of his work it is found that he was the son of Somanatha Mahapatra a minister of the King. And Mr. Majumdar thinks that this Somanatha was a descendant of Gopinatha, a minister of Kapilendra deva.<sup>57</sup> Another colophon gives us the full title of the work as "Jaganmohana Ramayana." It subsequently became very popular and came to be recited before crowded public. Yet the members of the Brahmana caste who were learned scholars in Sanskrit looked down upon the compositions of these Sudra writers. Balaram Das

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54. "Sarala Candinamo attaye sahi Devi  
Taharo daso mo ye Sarala das Kavi."

55. " Kalikala Dhvasansaku Bhoga goti puja  
Pranamite Khanda ye Kapilesvaro Raja."

56. "Mahapatra mantri Somanatha mahapatra  
Balaramdasa ye Tahara Muhiputra."

57. The colophon of the Sundara Kanda:



58

in one of the colophons of his Ramayana urges the Brāhmanās to read his work.

In his old age Balaram Dās was converted by Caitanya. He appears to have continued his literary career under Pratāparudra. Since he claims that he had finished his composition of Ramayana before he was thirty two we have to presume that he started his literary career during the reign of Purusottama. Besides the Ramayana, he is also credited with the authorship of Arjuna Gita, (2) Gaja Nistarana Gita (3) Beda Parikrama and Mrguni Stuti.

3. Jagannātha Dās:— Another important luminary in the literary court of Pratāparudra was Jagannātha Dās son of Bhagavana Dās and Padma. He was a Brahmana by birth and according to Jagannātha Caritāmṛta he was a disciple of Balarama Dās. His father Bhagavana Dās was a reader of Purānās (Purāṇa Pāṇḍa) in the temple of Jagannātha and

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58. Ramayana, Lanka Kanda.

59. Two Gupta Gītas mention that Balarama Dās wrote Gupta Gīta but could not finish it. It was only finished by another who says that he was an incarnation of Balarama Dās in the time of Mukunda dēva and finished the unfinished Gupta Gīta in 35 chapters. (For further details see, Mr. Majumdar, Typ. Sel. from Oriya Literature, page 14). In another Gupta Gīta it is stated that there was a dispute between Balarama Dās and some orthodox Brahmanas and the case was referred to Pratāparudra.



he took every care to get his son educated in Sanskrit. The biographer of the poet Divākara informs us that he got inspired while hearing Bhāgavata read out at Puri and began his task of writing Bhāgavata in Oriya. His work became very popular in Orissa. He was converted to Vaisnavism by Caitanya shortly after his arrival in Orissa in 1510 A.D. Ever since then Jagannātha Das strived to popularise his convictions. His works exhibit masterly grasp and exposition of poets. He was not merely a poet but a sound scholar as well. His Bhāgavata was recited every day by a man in every village from a place called 'Bhāgavata Tūngis' and this man was maintained by the Public of the village. This method of reciting Bhāgavata to the people from a public place in every village helped a great deal for the growth and spread of Vaisnavism and the removal of the rigidity of caste system.

Jagannatha Dāsa is also credited with the composition of several works. <sup>60</sup> Gupta Bhāgavata, Darubrahmagita, Gajastuti, Artha - Kōili, Mrgunistuti, Dharu stuti, Tulābhina, Itihāsapurāna, Pāsanda-dalana, Manasikṣa, Rāsakreeda. Most of these works are published.

4. Akhyutanānda Das:— Akhyutananda Das, the author of Garuda Gīta and Sūnya Samhita, is said to have started his literary career under Prataparudra and lived to see the reign of Mukunda dēva. Nothing

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60. History of Oriya Literature, p.49.



more is known about this poet except that he served for sometime under .  
~~Rxxk~~ Padmanābhanarendra of Ranpur state.

III. Telugu Literature under the Gajapatis: Although ruling over a number of Telugu Districts, the Gajapati rulers were no great patrons of Telugu poets or Telugu Literature. Telugu Literature had its glorious days under the Reddis at Rajahmundry and once again it was restored to its old position and prestige by Kṛṣṇarāya of Vijayanagara.

Vēma and Virabhadra Reddis of Rajahmundry were great patrons of Telugu Literature. The greatest of the Telugu poets of the day 'Sṛinātha' was a Court Poet of Virabhadra. His own verses give us clue to his achievements at different courts during his tours.

Sṛinātha served his king as his agent at the Courts of Rāvu Sīnga and others. There are many works to the credit of Sṛinātha.

61. Kavijivitamulu, p.254.

" దీ నారటంకాలఁ దీర్చి మా డింబు అ  
 దక్షిణాది శుభములకాల  
 పలుకుతాడై తాంధ్ర భాషామహాకావ్య  
 వైషద్యప్రసంగ సంకల్పమునకు  
 నిలులఁగాఁ జ్ఞానమును బుద్ధి పుష్టి వాదభిప్రాయ  
 గుండడిమి పుష్టుకంజు దీక్ష  
 తాంధ్ర శేషరత్నయూ శక్తి రాయలయొద్దఁ  
 బాదుకాల్పిత సార్వభౌమము క  
 మెటులమెప్పుడు దానమై నింక మీఁద  
 రావునిం గమహాపాద దీక్షనాట  
 నిండుకాలువుననెలకాని యుండినపు  
 సరస సద్గుణ నికురంబు శారదాంబ.





Maruttarācāritra, Śalivāhana Saptasāti, Bhīmakhaṇḍam, Sṛṅgāra -  
Naisadham, Kāśī Khaṇḍam etc. Bendaḥpudi Annamantri extolls Śrīnātha  
in the following verse:

స. వినిపించినాఁ దపు వేమఁ ఘాతనఁ జేల పురాణ విద్యాగమములు  
కల్పించినాఁ దపు గాఢపాకంబైన హర్షనైషధ కావ్యమాంధ్రభాష  
సాక్షించినాఁ దపు నిమగ్నతమముల లావిద్యాపరిక్షరావేళలంతు  
పాకనాఁటింటి వాఁ దపు బాంధవుఁ దపు కమలనాభు నిమగ్న మఁదపమలమతివి  
నాకుఁ గృహస్థుఁ యుక్తుఁడత్ర బంధంబున వ్రకలతగురంగబ్రాహ్మనాథుఁడవివేచి.

But with the death of Vēma and Virabhadra, or more probably  
with the Gajapati conquest of Telugu coast sometime before 1453 A.D.,  
the glory of Śrīnātha declined and Telugu Literature was neglected  
by the new conquerors.

According to Sir K. Vedulaśalingam Pantulu, Śrīnātha survived  
Vēma and ~~and~~ Virabhadra of Rājāhmudry and he took for lease a village  
named Boddupalli on river Kṛṣṇā. The crops failed, and whatever  
remained was swept away by floods in that river. He was put to a  
lot of suffering and he gives expression to his wounded feelings  
in the following verses:

స. కవిరాజు కందుకూరి గొంగలపెనుగదా పురవీధి నెరుకెంత పొగడదంత  
సార్వభౌముని భూభాగస్థిభిమక్రైస్తుగదానగరివాకిట నుండు నల్లగుండు  
శింఖ్రానైషధ కీర్తయంధ్రోయు న్నింబున దగిలయింత సుగదా నిజయంగము  
వీరభావత్రైవిధి వ్యాంస ముంజేడు విద్యామంత్రుగదా వెదురుగాడియ  
కుష్మపరాక్షు కాని పాదయ నొక ఫలము జలజలాక్షుల తినిపాదయ (దిలక) చెగులు  
బాడ్డుపల్లెను గాడ్డుతమోన పాతి నెట్లు నెట్లుండు టంకంబు చేతు నూర్లు.



స. కాకా విశ్వేశు గలన వరాధి  
 రత్నంబరము చేరాయదిచ్చు  
 నైలాసగిరి బండ మైలారువిభాదేరి  
 తనవెప్పుమరాజు తీర్చగలడు.  
 రంభ, గూడెద నుండురాయ రామాత్మండు  
 కస్తూరికరాజు, బ్రహ్మతామ  
 ప్పేర్ల స్థు, తమనీ విస్మయమంత్ర మరహేమ  
 పాత్రవైమవీని ఉంక్తి, గలదు.  
 భాస్కరు, ధుమువై వేల్చని పాలకరిగె  
 గలయుగంబున న, కనుండు, గష్టమనును  
 దివిజ కవివరు సుండియన్ దగ్గరనగ  
 నరుసు నున్నాడు నాథు రమరపురికి.

62

Whatever may be the circumstances under which Śrinātha died, it is certain that <sup>he</sup> ~~Śrinātha~~ lived atleast to see the beginnings of Gajapati authority in Telugu Districts. No wonder if the Gajapati officials stationed at Kondavidu, had put him to trouble in exacting the revenue from him, without paying any respect to his past greatness. The Gajapatis were just then occupying the lands and the stability of the administration in a newly conquered country rests on the revenues raised there. The methods adopted by those men were really <sup>harsh</sup> ~~barbarous~~ and most unbecoming of a civilised state and much

62. Kavijivitamulu: p.286-87.

G. Ramamurthy Pantulu, questioned the authenticity of those verses and totally rejected the theory of Srinatha's death on the banks of Kṛṣṇa.



less to be used against a man of Śrīnātha's type. Yet I think it will be expecting too much, from them for they were mainly foreigners, to the land and the country was newly conquered, with which they had no sympathy. In spite of this discouraging policy of the Gajapati monarchs, we have an instance where a subordinate of theirs favoured Telugu poets. Pūṣapāti Basava Bhūpala who ruled over Udayagiri rajya as their Vassal patronized a few Telugu writers.

1. Dūbagunta Nārāyaṇa Kavi:— He was an inhabitant of the village Dūbagunta in the modern Udayagiri Taluq of Nellore District. He was the son of Nāganna and Brahmayya Mantri. His literary preceptor was one Nāṇanārya, son of Kondaya Mantri. He was an official under Basava Bhūpala of Udayagiri, and translated Sanskrit Pañchatantra into Telugu and dedicated it to his patron Basava.

2. Dagguballi Duggana:— Son of Toppana and Errama, of Sāṇḍilya Gōtra, Śaivaites by religion and a brother-in-law of Śrīnātha.

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63. Panchatantra.

64. Vijayanagarandhra Kavula Caritra.

65. స. క వి సా ర్థ్య భా ము డై క ర్ణాట విభాసే త  
న న క ర త్రా భ ష్ట క ముఖ గ న స  
శ్రీ నాథ సు కవి కూరిమి చేయు ముఖవి  
దు స్తయ కవిరాజు డ స్త యజ్ఞ .



He dedicated his work 'Nāsikātōpākhyānam' to 'Canda<sup>f</sup>ūri Gaḡayamantri', a minister of Pūsapāti Basava Bhūpala. He describes the family of his patron in the introductory verses of his works as follows:

१." వసుధ నెగడిన మాధవ వర్ణవంశ  
వర్ణసుందగు తమ్మిగ్గూ వరునిబసవ  
పొత్తిచ్చిన కావ్యుడై కృపాపాత్రుడగుచు  
యనత మెఱుంగెననందయగంగవిభుడు."

Nāsikātōpākhyānam.

3. Nandi Mallayya & 4. Ghanta Singayya:— These twin poets were at first patronized by Basava Bhūpala of Udayadri and about him they wrote:

స." మాధవ వర్ణిగ్గూ మందలేశ్వరవంశ  
బలవికసేరాబుచందమామ  
యెరాబురుయశైలమలమివిష్టేతంసె  
గపటాహితమహంధరారమడగ  
గజపతిసురధారణిగడిరుర్ములకెల్ల  
నేరాబువప్రొంపుబారుతఱప్రె  
మమోమచేనేరాబుమఱపింసెనఱభగీ  
రధప్రభుమాంధాభృరఘోరమణుల  
రిట్టిగుణశాలతమ్మరాయనికొమార  
వీరబసవక్షమాతక్రవిభునిచేత." 66.

66. Prabhōda<sup>h</sup>candrodaya.



Their work Prabōdhacandrōdaya was dedicated to Gandalūri Gangayāmatya, the minister of Basava. This piece furnishes some interesting historical information about the relationship between the Gajapati and Harapati, between whose realms lay Basava's state.

Sometime about 1475 A.D., Udayagiri Rājya was conquered by Saluva Narasimha and these poets migrated to the Court of <sup>the Conqueror</sup> ~~Saluva Narasimha~~ where they continued their literary career. There they composed their important work Varāha-purāṇa which they dedicated to Narasa Nayaka general of Saluva Narasimha.

5. Pillalamarri Pina Virabhadra Kavi: the author of Jaimini Bhāratam had two sons (1) Virannaḍ (2) Mallēsvārudu. This Mallēsvara secured the favour of the Gajapatis of Cuttack and served under them as an officer. They in token of his services conferred on him the village 'Penumalla' as a present. Henceforward his family was known as <sup>67</sup> 'Penumalla' and not as 'Pillalamarri'.

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67. R. Achyuta Rao: Viṣayanagara Telugu History.





CHAPTER VIII.

Caitanyadēva and his influence on Orissa.



NO account of the Gajapatis of Orissa can be complete without a reference to Śrī Caitanya the great Vaiṣṇava reformer of Bengal, whose prolonged stay in Orissa had greatly influenced the king as well as the people.

The Bhakti movement first made its appearance in the shape of a religious reform as a reaction against the ritualistic religion of the Vēdas. Dr. Bhandarkar calls it Ekāntika Dharma and he says that it is based on Bhagavadgītā<sup>1</sup>. An examination of the Nārāyaṇīya section of Sāntiparva of Mahābhārata clearly shows that by that time it had taken a definite form and was known by the name Pancarātra and Sātvata religions. Gradually it became mixed up with the cults of Nārāyaṇa and Viṣṇu and came to be known as Vaiṣṇavism. The essence of this religion<sup>1</sup> is, repudiation of slaughter of animals, and worship with devotion<sup>1</sup> Hari the supreme Lord of the Universe. This Ekāntika Dharma or monotheistic religion was first communicated to Arjuna. The method of Salvation is "to lead a life of action but the fruit of action one should not be intent on ..... the action should be dedicated to Brahman, or one should act with the sole object of carrying out God's will<sup>2</sup>." By acting like that he gets freedom from passion, and a sense of the omnipresence of God. This

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1. Bhandarkar. Vaiṣṇavism and Saivism p.14.

2. Ibid, p.26.



ultimately leads to the realisation of the highest love of God and the knowing of the Bhagavat thoroughly. The Gupta Emperors who called themselves Bhagavatas did substantial service to Vaisnavism.

Vaisnavism was popular in South India. There were two classes of teachers among the Vaisnavas of the south - the Ālwārs and the Ācāryas. Ālwārs were devotees of Viṣṇu or Nārāyaṇa, were drawn from all castes and taught people by their example and devotional songs in Tamil. The Ācāryas came from the Brāhman community, were learned in religious lore, had a number of disciples and carried on disputations in Sanskrit with the teachers of other sectarian doctrines. Rāmānujācārya the great Vaisnava reformer of the 11th century was a critic of Śaṅkara's theory of illusion or Māya. He imbibed the spirit of Bhakti from the Tamil Ālwārs. His principal doctrine is known as Viśiṣṭādvaita - a doctrine which gives scope for the feeling of Bhakti. He always endeavoured to show that the final stage in a man's spiritual evolution is Bhakti and it is only a particular mode of Jñāna or knowledge. Ramanuja derived his metaphysical doctrines from Texts in Upanisads and from the Brahma Sūtras while he adopted the Purāṇic theory of the production of the external world.

"His Vaisnavism is the Vāsudēvism of the old Pāncarātra system combined with the Nārāyaṇīya and Viṣṇu elements<sup>3</sup>." The name Gopāla Kṛṣṇa is

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3. Bhandarkar, p.57.





conspicuous by its absence. <sup>4</sup>In the system of Rāmānuja 'Bhakti is reduced to the form of a continuous meditation on the Supreme Soul'.

A contemporary of Rāmānuja was Nimbārka a Telugu Brahman by birth. He ~~joined hands~~ <sup>was one</sup> with Rāmānuja in raising a protest against the Māyāvāda of Śaṅkara. His doctrine was a compromise between different tendencies. It is both monistic and pluralistic. <sup>4</sup>The inanimate world, the individual soul and God are distinct from one another as well as identical. The Dasasloki or the ten stanzas contain the quintessence of Nimbārka's system. His system gives prominence to Prapatti or self surrender and by the grace of God love for Him is generated. <sup>5</sup>In the system of Nimbārka, Kṛṣṇa the cowherd comes into prominence as the Supreme Lord of the Universe. Actually this cult of Kṛṣṇa was made popular by Vallabhācārya, another Vaiṣṇava reformer of the 15th century. The Vedantic theory of Vallabha is based on the work of Viṣṇusvāmin. "The sportive boy Kṛṣṇa of the cow-settlement with all his pranks is the highest God of this school; and his mistress Rādhā who is mentioned only in the later books and dignified into his eternal consort, ..... is the <sup>6</sup>object of the deepest adoration."

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4. Carpenter. Theism in Mediaeval India, p.404-405.

See also Bhandarkar, p.63.

5. Bhandarkar, p.65.

6. Ibid, p.82.



The contemporary of Vallabhācārya was the Bengālī Saint Caitanya, who also propagated the religion of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. While the former developed the ceremonial side of the religion the latter devoted himself to the cultivation of the emotional side. Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja's Caitanya Caritāmṛta, Jayananda's Caitanya Mangala and a number of other Bengālī Biographies give us the life sketch of Śrī Caitanya. In the following pages an attempt is made to give in brief the main doctrines of Caitanya's school and their influence on the people as well as the rulers of Orissa.

Viśvambhara (afterwards Caitanyadēva) was born at Mīnapur in Navadvīpa in 1486. His father was Jagannātha Miśra and mother Sacidēvi. They were originally inhabitants of Jāipur in Orissa, but later they migrated and settled in Nadia. Viśvambhara was tall and handsome, with long arms and was light brown in colour. He is frequently called Gaurāṅga or Gauracandra. Caitanya Caritāmṛta gives us a long series of Caitanya's childish sports among the young Hindu women of the village.

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7. I.A., Vol.II, p.2.

Śrī Kṛṣṇa Chaitanya Navadvīpa ovatāri  
Asṛta chāllis batsar prakat bihōri  
Chanddasat sat sake Janmer pramān  
Chanddasat Panchannē hōila antardhān.



When he was eighteen, his father died and he soon afterwards married Laksmīdevī, daughter of Balabhadraṇācārya and entered on the career of a grhastha. He started a tol (school) of his own and took pupils whom he instructed in ordinary secular learning. Sometime later his wife died of snake-bite. Two months later he took a second wife Viṣṇupriyā, daughter of Saṇātana. . Soon after he went to Gaya to offer Pinda to the manes of his ancestors. At Gaya he met per chance a Vaiṣṇava saint, Īśvara Pūri, who initiated him into the Bhakti cult. This had marvellous effect on him and it revealed to him a new phase in his life and brought home to his heart the most fascinating charms of Śrī Kṛṣṇa. From Gaya he returned a changed man. He realized God and His sweetness. He realised his own self and its relation to God. He abolished his tol and organized Sankīrtana. This Sankīrtana or the uttering of the name of Hari caught the fancy of the people and several hundreds flocked to him. He openly condemned the Hindu ritualistic system of ceremonies and disowned the institution of caste. The Bhattachāryas, the great scholars of Navadvīpa, opposed this movement. They appear to have made a complaint against him with the local Muslim magistrate or Kāzi and requested him to prohibit the Sankīrtanas. At the age of twentyfour, i.e., in 1509 A.D., he was initiated into Sanyāsa by Kōṣava Bhārati and then he went to Pūri to see the shrine of God Jagannātha.

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S. D.C. Sen. p.431.



Thence he toured all over the country preaching his creed and returned to Pūri where he remained for the remaining eighteen years of his life.

The leading principle that underlies Caitanya's system is Bhakti or devotion and this is illustrated by the mutual love of, Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. The Bhakta or devotee passes through five successive stages. "Santa or resigned contemplation is the first stage and from it he passes to Dāya or the practice of worship and service, thence to Sakhya or friendship which warms into Vatsalya filial affection and lastly rises to Māthurya or earnest all-engrossing<sup>9</sup> love."

Kṛṣṇa is the highest God, the perfect being Himself, the source of all incarnations, the chief of all causes. His body is composed of Sat Chit and Ananda; therefore, his 'Svarūp' power must be of three kinds. In the Sat portion it is Sandhinī, in the Chit portion it is Sambitā and in the Ananda portion it is Hlādinī.<sup>10</sup>

In the propagation of his creed, Caitanya was assisted by his disciples Nityānanda and Advaitānanda. These three are called the three Prabhūs or Masters of this sect.

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9. Extracted from Padakalpataru by Beams. I.A., II, p.3.

10. Caitanya Caritāmṛta. pp.64-65. See also Viṣṇupurāṇam, I and II, 48.



Caitanya came to reside at Puri in February-March of 1509 A.D., and Kāśī Mīśra was his host. Orissa proved very receptive to his teachings. Long before the advent of Caitanya into Orissa Vaisnavism was there in some form or other.<sup>11</sup> The Sankirtana parties arranged by Caitanya soon attracted several people towards him and not very long after several people became converts to the new creed. The first to be so converted<sup>12</sup> as was Vāsudēva Sarvabhauma, the great Navya Nyāya Scholar, patronized by Gajapati Pratāparudra. Then Caitanya travelled to the south and met Rāmananda on the banks of the Gōdāvari. They had long discussions. Rāmananda was a governor under Pratāparudra, and was a reputed scholar and Bhakta. Rai Rāmananda had an interview with Caitanya in June 1509 while the latter was on his way to the south.

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11. 289 G of 1899, 332 XV of 1899, 286 R of 1899. Refer to the Vaisnava Saint Naraharitīrtha Śrīpāda (disciple of Ānandathīrtha of Mādhava) and his establishment of a Matha at Simhachalam for the propogation of his creed.
  12. Caitanya Caritamṛta relates an interesting dialogue between Vāsudēva and Caitanya and their interview. Vasudeva was an advaita Philosopher, and for seven days he made Caitanya hear his discourses on the sacred Upanisads. But Caitanya who kept silent all the time refuted his arguments and established his theory of 'Dualism'. "So irresistible was his charm that the old scholar of 80 who was looked on as the very fountain of learning now fell at the young Sanyasi's feet and accepted him as his God and saviour". (D.C.Sen. Caitanya and his Companions, p.83).



<sup>13</sup>  
Caitanya Caritāmṛta gives us a long account of a dialogue between them where in at the bidding of the 'Master' Rāmananda described the various stages of Bhakti. The credit of enunciating the Rāsanuga as opposed to Vaidhi Bhakti or faith goes to Rāmananda. He extolls the Bhakti of Gōpis. They approach God on a very high stage of spirituality. The highest stage in this field belongs to Rādhā, who typifies the full blown beauty of spiritual love.<sup>14</sup> Rāmananda after his interview with Caitanya resigned his position as governor and went to Puri to live with Caitanya Dēva.

Pratāparudra who returned to Cuttack during the 'Master's' absence in Orissa, soon heard of the greatness of that reformer. Caitanya Caritāmṛta informs us that he urged Sārvaabhauma to arrange for him an interview with Caitanya. But Caitanya refused to see him. The King wrote a letter to Sārvaabhauma to "entreat the Bhaktas of the Master to intercede with Him for me. Through their favour I may reach his feet. I like not my kingship if I cannot gain His grace. If Caitanya does not take pity on me, I shall give up my throne and turn a religious mendicant."<sup>15</sup> In spite of great persuasion Caitanya

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13. Sarkar. Caitanya, pp. 54 ff.

14. Sen. Caitanya and his Companions, p. 97.

15. Sarkar, p. 122.



did not express his assent. Rāmananda tried his best and at ~~last~~ last got the permission of Caitanya to allow the son of Pratāparudra to see him, for the "son is one's own self born again"<sup>16</sup>. The Rāy took the prince, who was "handsome and dark, clad in yellow robe" reminding one of Kṛṣṇa. Caitanyadōva lovingly received him, and repeatedly embraced him. Rāmananda then took the prince back to the King, who rejoiced at his son's good fortune and thenceforward the prince was 'numbered among the Master's Bhaktas'.

An opportunity soon presented itself to Pratāparudra to see Lord Caitanya. One day, after an enthusiastic singing of Sankīrtan, Caitanya fell unconscious in the courtyard of Kāśī Mīśra. Rāja Pratāparudra instructed by Sārvabhauma suddenly stole into the assembly and fell at his feet. Caitanya, after gaining consciousness, exclaimed, "woe to me. I have touched one given to worldly power and wealth." The Gajapati burst into tears and learning that he was true to his faith Caitanya embraced him in love. Rāmananda in his Jagannātha Vallabhanāṭaka, refers to this occasion - "This is indeed a marvel, Pratāparudra, who is a terror to the Pathans, whose Physical might surpassed that of most men ..... has melted like soft thing at the touch of Caitanya"<sup>17</sup>. It seems whenever Caitanya walked in the streets with a large crowd of men following him with song and music, Pratāparudra accompanied him barefoot like the humblest of his subjects.<sup>18</sup>

16. Ibid. p.124.

17. Quoted by Śrī Caitanya and his Companions, p.12.

18. Ibid, p.13. Kadaca of Gōvinda Dāsa.



A spirit of sympathy for the lower castes and classes of Hindu society has been from the beginning a distinguishing feature of Vaisnavism. Caitanya's teachings, which did away with the rigours of caste distinctions between individuals, appealed more to the non-Brahman communities in Orissa. Several non-Brahman converts to the creed of Caitanya, in their zeal for the new cult, wrote works in their own languages on the greatness of Bhakti and enriched the vernacular literature of the country.

In the opinion of late Mr. R.D. Banerji, the influence of Caitanya on the society and government of Orissa, was disastrous to the country. It brought about a decline in the military spirit of the people, it became a fashion with most of the powerful officers like Ramananda Raya and Gopinatha Baragana and even with the King to follow the Great Teacher. "At a time when the Oriya nation needed the services of every honest and capable man for the defence of her political prestige and empire, Ramananda Raya betrayed his trust to his own people by retiring from his position on the weakest  
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frontier of the country." The Neo-Vaisnava effect on the King and his policy is clearly evidenced in the literature of the sect, in Bengali. In Jayananda's Caitanya-Mangala it is stated that

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19. His. of Orissa. p.332.





Pratāparudra consulted Caitanya for an invasion of Bengal but the saint dissuaded him pointing out that the war would have disastrous effect on his own people.

Late Mr. Banerji <sup>20</sup> put the blame for the fall of the Orissan Power on the influence of Caitanya. Yet it is difficult to agree with him in toto. It is certain that Caitanya had great influence on the king; and some of the interested people might have tried to exploit the situation. And as an illustration we have the case of Gopīnātha Rāya who was sentenced to death by the Gajapati, but who tried to save his life by asking Caitanya to speak a word with the king on his behalf. But notwithstanding the fact that the family of Gopīnātha Rāya was devoted to him, Caitanya refused to comply with his request. He was, however, <sup>said</sup> "very sorry for him, but I have no sympathy for the crime ..... you put me in a very delicate position, by asking me to intercede for him." <sup>21</sup> He found his stay at Pūri was no longer fitting and so got ready to go to Alaknātha. When the King heard of this from Kāśī Mīra he released the criminal. But on no account we can find fault with Caitanya for the conduct of the King. Vaisnavism, as has been mentioned already was there in Orissa even earlier and the Raja had been a devout worshipper of

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20. Caitanya Mangala: <sup>See R. D. Banerji</sup> History of Orissa, p.333.

21. D. C. Sen. Chaitanya & his Companions p. 13.



Jagannātha. His very first inscription records his orders that only Gita Govinda songs should be sung before Jagannātha before bed time. Caitanya's arrival and his prolonged stay in Orissa, only gave an impetus to the spiritual development of the King. Actually Caitanya, stayed in Orissa from 1516-1533. By 1516 A.D. Pratāparudra, was seriously engaged in his wars against Kṛṣṇarāya. He had actually led the armies for the battles of Kondavidu and Kondapalli. Even after the conclusion of Peace with Kṛṣṇarāya his warlike spirit did not die. Till his death in 1538, he was always engaged in wars either with the Muslim neighbours, or with Vijayanagara. Hence we cannot agree with Mr. Banerji when he wrote that Caitanya was mainly responsible for the decline of martial spirit in Orissa. Nor was Caitanya mainly responsible for the fall of Orissan power. The inferior war-machine of Orissa and the treachery of some of the selfish officers like Govinda Vidyādhara who betrayed Pratāparudra in his wars against the Sultān of Bengal, mainly accounted for the failure of Pratāparudra in his numerous wars.





POLITICAL MAP of India in the middle of the 15th century A.D., was divided broadly into four belts of kingdoms. The northern belt of Muslim states bordered to their south by the Hindu states of Rājaputāna, and the central belt of Muslim kingdoms of Gujarāt, Mālwa, Khāndesh and Bahmanī <sup>had</sup> with the Hindu Vijayanagara <sup>Empire</sup> to their south. The internecine wars amongst the central Muslim kingdoms and the greater preoccupation of the Bahmanis with their wars against Vijayanagara precluded the Central Muslims joining their co-religionists in the north to put down the Hindu independence in Rājaputāna. That was the political significance of Vijayanagara Empire.

No less significant was Orissa kingdom under the Gajapatis extending along the coast right from the Ganges in the north to the river Penna in the south. It impeded the progress of Jaunpur and Bengāl by the eastern coast into the south. The achievements of the Gajapati kings must be appreciated against this background. Unlike Vijayanagara which took on war only with the Bahmanis, Orissa fought with both the groups of Muslim kingdoms Jaunpur and Bengāl, Mālwa and Bahmani. Notwithstanding all these difficulties, the Orissa power forged ahead so as to conquer from Vijayanagara the Telugu districts on the eastern coast down to Udayagiri Mandalam.



The entire credit for this achievement goes to Kapilendra the founder of the Gajapati dynasty of Orissa. He not only conquered the southern regions but also successfully maintained his position against the onslaughts of the neighbouring rulers of Jaunpur, Bengal, Vijayanagar and Bahmani. The success over the latter two is immortalised to his titles Navakōtikarnātakalavaragēsvara. So long Kapilendra was alive neither the Bahmani Sultan nor the Vijayanagara rulers could venture to launch an attack against Orissa.

But the accession of Purusottama, brought in a crisis. The Bahmani Sultan Muhammad Shah had an upperhand. He intervened in the war of succession as an ally of the rival of Purusottama and as the price for the support got Rajahmundry and Kondapalli. Thus he formed a wedge between Orissa and Vijayanagara. Soon Purusottama mustering up his courage and forces staged a comeback and reconquered the whole territory as far south as the river Penna.

Pratāparudra succeeded Purusottama on the throne. Then it was Vijayanagara under the Tuluvas that got an upperhand. The Orissa Empire dwindled. Kṛṣṇarāya carried his sword successfully far into the interior of the Gajapati kingdom and put an end to the Gajapati authority, in the region to the south of Kṛṣṇā. With the rise of Kṛṣṇarāya the importance of Orissa declined and the Gajapati dynasty sank into obscurity.



Energetic as they were in their foreign policy they showed no less vigour in internal administration. Most of the recalcitrant chiefs who had declared their independence during the last years of Bhanudeva IV were brought under control. They brought stability to the government by abolishing inconvenient taxes, stopping the resumption of pasture and waste lands and expelling those officers who did not work for the general good. They gave good encouragement to Sanskrit and Oriya literatures and specially Oriya made memorable advance during the Gajapati rule. The most important event in the time of Prataparudra was the appearance of Caitanyadeva in Orissa. The religious movement which Caitanya set in motion gave a new impetus to the literary activities of the land and contributed a great deal to the enrichment of Vernacular literature.

No doubt the Eastern Ganga monarchs brought Orissa fame and renown by making it the home of Gods honoured all over India but then it was only a dependency of the Andhra while under the Gajapatis Andhra in its turn became a dependency of Orissa. In the words of Mr. Majumdar "Orissa attained its highest glory in all direction" under the Gajapatis and "making of Orissa came to a completion during those glorious days".



The Gajapati dynasty was a short lived one; there were only three important rulers. It rose to prominence as a result of ministerial revolution. Subsequent to Prataparudra, his two minor sons ruled for a short period of two years and the throne was usurped by Govinda Vidyādhara a minister of Pratāparudra. Thus the dynasty ended as it began in ministerial revolution.





**APPENDIX.I.**

**A Note on the title 'Navakōti Karcāta Kalavaracōśvara'**

**assumed by the Gajapati monarchs.**





This title 'Navakōṭi Karnāṭa Kalavaragēśvara' appears for the first time in the Velagalani plates of Kapilendra dated Ś.1380 (1458 A.D.). The exact significance of the word 'Navakōṭi' was not fully explained by previous writers. Messrs. Manmohan Chakravarti and R.D.Banerji understood it as "ruler over ninety millions of Karnāṭa and Kulbarga". Mr. G. Ramadass recently suggested that Kapilendra was ruler of the countries Navakōṭi, Karnāṭa, and Kulbarga. In support of the surmise he cited the evidence of one of the ślokas in the Gōpīnāthpur inscription of Kapilendra. That śloka begins with "Śrīkhandādri-payōdhar-ōpari Karammirmāya":— He identified the word Navakōṭi of the title with the Śrīkhandādri of the Gōpīnāthpur inscription. In a footnote, he explained his identification as follows:— "M.M.Chakravarti understood the meaning of the quotation as 'levied taxes over the Khanda hill' but did not give a thought to identify it. 'Khanda means nine' (Sanskrit Dictionary, Sarvasabda-Sambōdhini, Madras 1875) Śrīkhandādri means the wealthy region of the nine forts, the same as 'Navakōṭi'. Navanām Kōṭānām Samāhārah Navakōṭam; Navakōṭam Yasmin tat - Navakōṭi .. ..... 'Navakōṭi Karnāṭa Kalavaragēśvara' is found in every colophon

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1. J.A.S.B. Vol.LXIX, I, No.2, 1900, p.177 ff.
  2. J.B.R.S. Vol.XXI, Pt.III, p.176.
  3. J.A.S.B. Vol.LXIX, I, No.2, 1900, Verse 14.



given at the end of every Ucchvāsa of Sarasvativilāsa. Śrīkhandādri for Navakōti and Kānchīpura for Karnāta are synonyms used for metrical purposes." Then he gave the names of the nine forts indicated by the epithet as Bellamkonda, Vinukonda, Kondavidu, Nāgarjunakonda, Rājāhmundry, Peddāpuram, Kaluvalapalli, Oddādi and Potnūru. Therefore, Navakōti or Śrīkhandādri are expressions to indicate the whole region from Simhāchalam in the north to Nellore in the south."

This explanation given by Mr. Ramadas is not very convincing. He understood the word 'Navakōti' as the name of the country lying between Simhāchalam and Nellore. This region before its conquest by the Gajapatis was under the authority of the Reddi rulers. Neither the inscriptions of the Reddis nor the literature of the period gives us any evidence to prove the conclusion of Ramadas. Again his identification of Navakōti with Śrīkhandādri is erroneous. He gave numerical values to the word Khanda and rushed to the conclusion 'Śrīkhandādri' means 'the wealthy region of nine forts same as Navakōti'. Using his own principle if we give numerical values to the word Śrīkhandādri, we get Khanda = 9 and Adri = 7 or 79 (Ankanam yamatō gatihi) which is meaningless in the context. The word was not at all used in that sense. Adri means only a hill but he understood it as a fort; granting that Adri meant a hill fort, all the forts enumerated by him were not hill forts. Certainly Rājāhmundry, Peddāpuram were Stala durgas. The region from Simhāchalam



in the North to Mallore in the South indicated by the expression 'Navakōti or Śrīkhandādri' includes several important forts as Udayagiri, Kandukūru, Addanki, Kētavaram, Kondapalli etc., and Mr. Ramadass's list is not at all exhaustive. Thus the explanation offered by Mr. Ramadass is not at all convincing.

In south India it was customary to affix certain numerical figures to the names of districts, provinces or countries. Several inscriptions from the Canarese country mention districts along with numerical appellations. But in the Telugu country the Telugu Academy plates of Vishukundin Mādhavavarman dated in the sixth or early seventh century was the earliest. In that inscription a reference is made to "one thousand country" which Mr. Somasakhara-Sarma has identified with Vēngi. That this numerical figure refers to the number of grāmas is made evident by two records of Rājārāja II

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4. Velanādu was once a '6000 country. 671 of 1920. Rēnādu '7000 country. 466 of 1906. Mulkinādu a 4000 country. J. of Tel. Academy, Vol.X, p.193. Giripratīci or Kondapadamatidēśa was 73 grāmas. Epi.Ins. Vol.VI, p.268 ff. (Trisaptatigrāmāvatim ..... Giripratīcim).

5. Journal of Oriental Research, Vol.XI, Pt.III, p.221 ff.



and another <sup>a</sup>~~mandalika~~. The inscription of Rājarāja II records that he gave twelve villages to his friend "in respect of the 1000 villages comprising Vēngi Visaya." <sup>6</sup> Telugu literature also furnishes instances of this kind. Wannicoda, the author of Kumāra Sambhava a Telugu poet of the 12th century A.D. in the introduction of his work says that he was born to the Cōdaballī lord of Pākānādu 21000."

Thus it is clear that the numerical figures affixed to the names of districts and provinces refer only to Grāmas. But it should not be confused with modern village to denote which we invariably use the word 'Grāma'. On the other hand the word Grāma indicates the unit of measurement. <sup>7</sup> Though it is hard to conjecture about what it actually represents in terms of measurement in modern days.

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6. Epi. Report, for 1922 p.98 para 6; Similarly another inscription from Dakshārāma (S.I.I. Vol.IV, No.1153), refers to 'Kōnapōta who acquired "the Vēngi one thousand grāmas' from Kulōtunga Cōda."
  7. From the Sātulūru plates (J.A.H.R.S. Vol.V, p.112 ff.) of Guṇagaviṇayāditya we obtain the phrase 'Dvādaśasahasrapramāṇa Vēngimandalaṃ'. The word Pramāṇa in the above phrase was explicitly used to denote extent.



Similarly the word Navakōti in the title 'Navakōtikarnāta Kalavaragēśvara' assumed by Kapilēndradēva, might have been the numerical figure affixed to either Karnāta or Karnāta and Kulburga together, and they must have represented the number of Grāmas in these countries. Karnāta of the title is a reference to the Vijayanagara kingdom and Kalabaraga is a variant of Gulburga the then capital of the Bahmani Sultāns. It may be argued that 'Navakōti' i.e., 'nine crores' is too huge a figure for a state. But when a province like Nolambavādi could be 32000, the entire Karnāta empire might very well be indicated by the larger figure of 'nine crores'.





Was its authorship royal? The credit of compilation of the Sarasvatīvilāsa was attributed to Gajapati Pratāparudra of Orissa. The Dāyabhāga portion of this work was published with an English Translation by Rev. Thomas Foulkes in 1881. Later Dr. R. Shamasastri of Mysore, with the help of another Manuscript copy brought forth the whole work in print: It embraces the entire range of the religious moral and civil laws of the Hindus. As claimed by the author himself, it was compiled to serve as a ready reference to scholars. It is only a collection of the views of previous Dharmaśāstra writers on different points, for nowhere the writers gives his own opinion like Kautilya or hazard a new interpretation of the text like Viṇṇāśvara.

The principal topics discussed by the author in Vyavahāra Kānda are "the hall of justice, the method of Judicial procedure, the plaint, the reply, documents, possession, Rnadana, dāyavibhāga, Sāhasa and other titles of law." Besides the Dharmaśāstras and other Smṛtis, the important authors and works named in Sarasvatīvilāsa are "Aparārka, Asahāya, Karkibhāṣya, Kutarka, Guruprabhākara, Candrika, (Smṛticandrika) Dēvaratha, Devasvāmī, Dhārēśvara, Nibandhanakāra, Pradīpa, Pradipikākāra, Bhavadēva, Bhavanātha, Bhāruci, Mitākṣara, Yajnapati, Medhātithi, Rājālāsaka, Lakṣmīdhara, Varadarāja,



Vijñānēśvara, Vrttikāra (on Āpastambha and Śrauta) Vaikhāṇasa Samhita, Śalikanātha, Śrīkara, Sangrahaṭkāra, Sōmēśvara," etc. As observed by Sir Thomas Strange "it continues to be a book of some authority to the northward of the Pennar, "where many customs exist particularly respecting the tenure of land ..... Yet even here with in its proper limits it is in a great measure supplemented by that commentary of Vijñānēśvara the prevailing authority in Southern India."<sup>2</sup>

The author:-- The colophons given at the end of each Ullāsa (chapter) mention Pratāparudra Gajapati who ruled over Orissa between 1496-1540 A.D. as the author of the book. The introductory chapter contains a brief account of the family of Pratāparudra. He traced his descent from the sun and takes back his ~~prākṛgama~~ pedigree to Rāma the hero of Rāmāyana. Kapilēndra was the founder of the Gajapati dynasty whose son was Purusōttama. Pratāparudra dēva or Virarudra dēva was the son of Purusōttama by his Queen Rūpāmbika. He is said to have given protection to Sultān (Sūratrāna) Husanshah who threw himself on his mercy. He bears the titles 'Gajapati Gandēśvara, Navakōṭi Karnāṭa Kalavaragēśvara, and Yāmunāpurādhiśvara, Husansāhi Sūratrāna Śaraṇa Raksaka.'<sup>3</sup>

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1. Sir Thomas Strange: Trans. of Madras Literary Society, pt.25.

2. Trans. of Madras Literary Society, pt.25.

3. Sarasvatīvilāsa.





But a closer examination of the contents of the work leaves us in doubt as to the bonafides of the author. The work begins with the invocation to the deities Vighnēśvara, Sarasvati, Anjaneya, Jagannātha, Viṣṇu, Īśvara and Durga. This invocation of different deities clearly shows that the author was <sup>no sectarian</sup> ~~an sectarian~~ and from other sources we know Pratāparudra was a staunch Viṣṇava by faith. Vaiṣṇavism prohibits worship of any deity other than Vaiṣṇavite, and certainly Īśvara and Durga have no place in their worship. Then the author gives a brief account of himself ( 4 ). It is customary for an author to refer to his own abilities and attainments in the introductory portion, and to the nature of his work and to the history of the person to whom it happens to be dedicated. But in this work this is too much overdone to be within the permitted bounds of self-laudation. The following examples may very well illustrate the above statement.

“प्रह्वानां पारिजातः प्रपदकमल्योः पंकजाक्षः पद्मानाम्  
दीनाभानां निधानं . . . . .  
सोऽयं जी वीररुद्रो गजवति इतिरोयूत  
मूर्तेशमूर्तिः ” .i

5 Verse 17.

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4. Sarasvatīvilāsa, p.3.  
5. Ibid, p.8, Verse 17.



" वाचाश्रयिणिव जगदवननिपुण करपल्लवः  
 परशुराम इव एकवीराकृतिधरः . . . . .  
 . . . . . दिक्करि सदृशो  
~~स्विकृत~~ धिक्कृत वाक्यतिविभवः . . . . .  
 . . . . . " 6

प्रतिक्रपकं विवस्वतः, वीर्या मनुवैमयोः  
 अध्याहारः इष्टाकोः, समस्या विलीयस्य,  
 संवादो रदोः, पणबद्धो रघुकुमारस्य,  
 प्रतिनिधिः पद्मिस्थस्य, विग्रहान्तरं  
 रामचन्द्रस्य . . . . . " 7.

No poet, howsoever great and accomplished he might have been ever eulogized himself so much. Again the words " कान्तानां काम

देवः कुलगिरि रवनेः कामधेनुः कवीनां " 8

can never be said by a poet in praise of himself. They are definitely words expressed in praise of a king and patron. The author himself seems to have <sup>realised the incongruity</sup> ~~felt~~ <sup>of the entire situation and</sup> ~~pricked his conscience on this~~ <sup>question of eulogizing himself and</sup> defended his position saying that 'the describer and the described even though they are identical, they can be treated as different on the basis of difference in

6. Ibid, p.9.

7. Ibid, p.11.

8. Ibid, Verse 16 pn p.8.



attitude (अवस्था-संदेह). For one may be a poet himself and yet be an appreciative critic of the outpourings of a poetic heart. These qualities need not necessarily conflict.<sup>9</sup> The anxiety of the author to defend this position clearly sets us to think that it was not a composition of Gajapati Pratāparudra.

Another statement in the work definitely decides the issue that it was the composition of some other scholar. In the second Ullāsa while writing about the importance of Vyavahāra the author blurts out the truth. Usually after finishing Ācāra Kāṇḍa the writers take up the question of Vyavahāra but here Vyavahāra was taken first because king Virarudra wanted it to be done first.

"अस्मिन् स्मृति-संग्रहे गद्ये तन्त्र-स्मृत्यनुसारेण  
तदुक्त-क्रमेण आचार-काण्ड-निरूपणानन्तरं व्यव-  
हार-काण्ड-निरूपणं युक्तं । तथापि वीररुद्र-गज-  
पति-महाराज-स्या-काव्यानुसारेण प्रथमं  
व्यवहार-काण्डः प्रक्रम्यते ।"

10

9. Ibid, p.11 - "अतः वर्णयितुं वर्णयितोः अर्थद्वैक-  
निघतयो रपि अवस्था-संदेह-संदेहकथन-संक्षेप-  
कवेः कविसहृदयत्ववत् न विरुध्यते ।"

10. Sarasvatī Vilāsa. p.15.



Thus there is so much of internal evidence against Pratāparudra's authorship of the *Sarasvatīvilāsa*. It ~~must~~ have been compiled by somebody else.

Lolla Lakṣmīdhara a court poet of Pratāparudra, wrote a  
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commentary on *Saundaryalahari*. The introductory slokas of this work bear close resemblance<sup>to</sup> with those of *Sarasvatīvilāsa*, and in the colophon at the end of the work the author claims the authorship of *Sarasvatīvilāsa* for himself.

"..... त्रियिन्धु घायक तन्तावगा इरुदेण आग्रीकृत  
गजपति वीररुदेण ग्रीलगिरि सुंदरचरणारविंद  
चंचरीकेण वाणीसुंदरीकेण सरस्वती  
विलासायनेक स्मृतिनिबध्न . . . . . //

Deśeyāmātya, the assistant of Nādiṇḍla Gōpamantri, ruler of Kōṇḍavidu  
under Kṛṣṇarāya and the author of *Mahimnāstava Pañcālika*<sup>12</sup> also says  
that Lakṣmīdhara was the author of the *Sarasvatīvilāsa*.

Hence Lakṣmīdhara who lived at Cuttack as a Court Poet of Pratāparudra should have compiled this work and let it go in the name of his king and paṭron. Dr. R. Shamasastri in his introduction

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11. No.10886. Des.Cat. of the Sans.Mss. in the Madras Oriental Mss. Library; This book has been printed in the Mysore Government Oriental Library Series.

12. Sources, p.151.



to the Sarasvatī Vilāsa also expressed doubts on the authorship of  
13  
the work.

If it is conceded that the work was composed by Lakṣmīdhara, as claimed by him in his Samdardaralahari, the incongruity of the author praising himself disappears. By undertaking to write and publish Sarasvatī Vilāsa in the name of his King and patron, Lakṣmīdhara placed himself in a very difficult position. As a court poet he had to shower encomiums upon the ruler and at the same time by passing it off as the work of the king he had to offer explanation for the apparent self praise involved in it. He tried to get-over the difficulty by drawing a subtle distinction between the describer and the described on the basis of "difference in attitude".

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13. Sarasvatīvilāsa introduction





Notwithstanding the investigations of several scholars, some of the points in this legend Kānchi-Kāverī need careful examination. The Mādala Pāñī, the Kānchi-Kāverī and the Katakara Jamsavali with slight differences supply us the interesting story of Purusōttama's raid against Kānchi and his marriage with Padmavati, the daughter of its ruler. The story runs as follows. Purusōttama "wanted to marry the daughter of the king of Karnāta whose capital was Kānchi."<sup>1</sup> But the King of Karnāta rejected the proposal on the ground that the rulers of Orissa "were in the habit of performing the duties of a sweeper before the image of Jagannātha on its being brought out annually."<sup>2</sup> The Gajapati with wounded pride swore that he would obtain the damsel by force and give her in marriage to a Candala. He marched against the ruler of Kānchi but was defeated. He prayed to God Jagannātha to help him. Lord Jagannātha, it is stated, "to avenge the insult offered to the deity himself in the person of his worshipper" led the Orissa forces against Kānchi in the guise of "Balarama and Śrīkrṣṇa".<sup>3</sup> The ruler of Karnāta was defeated and Purusōttama "won the damsel along with a large fortune. He carried away a number of images

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1. Stirling Orissa p.129 ff; Katakara Jamsavali (Further Sources III p.68), says that he was the ruler of Kanchi.
  2. Stirling Orissa, p.130.
  3. Further Sources, III, p.69.



including Saksi-Gopala". The Madala Panji and the Konchi-Kavcri say that the King reached the capital and while he was sweeping the floor before the car of God Jagannatha the damsel was offered to him in marriage. Katakara Javamsavali gives us the additional detail that "Purusottama after crossing Godavari found" the king of Konchi advancing against him with a large army stopped on the otherside of the river." The king now ..... felt anxious and asked (his Purohit) Godavari Rajaguru to protect the army from attack by his miraculous powers. The Purohit pronounced a mantra, and the waters of the river began to swell rendering it impossible for the enemy to cross.<sup>4</sup> The King reached his capital and ordered the installation of the image of Saksi-Gopala in a village Caturdvāranāma-nagara on the banks of the Mahanadi. The Bengali biographer of Caitanya, Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja in his Caitanya Caritamṛta also wrote that "Purusottama the Rajah of Orissa, conquered the country in battle and seized the many jewelled throne named Manik-simhasana. Purusottama Dev was a great devotee and entreated Gopal to go to his capital. Gopal pleased with his piety, consented and was taken to Katak, where his worship was installed. The Raja gave the Manik-Simhasana to Jagannatha".<sup>5</sup>

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4. Ibid p.69.

5. Sarkar - Caitanya, p.25.





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Late Mr. R.D. Banerji has dismissed the story of Puruṣōttama's marriage as recorded in this legend as 'a mere romance'. But he found no reason to disbelieve the <sup>account</sup> story of Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja regarding the story of Śakṣi Gopāla and the jewelled throne. He even saw resemblances between the stone altar of God Jagannātha at Pūri and the "bizarre arabesque of the decadent Hōysāla type, which one sees in the temple of Hazāra Rāmaswami temple at Vijayanagara". If we are to agree with Mr. R.D. Banerji then we have to presume that Puruṣōttama led the campaign against Vijayanagara the capital of the Hindu kingdom of the same name. But the legend says that the images were brought from Kānchi. Late Mr. Tarinicharan Rath who is strongly convinced of the historicity of this tradition has observed that "it is indeed difficult to fix with precision the date of this Kānchi-Kāvēri expedition of king Puruṣottamadeva and find out the name of his contemporary king of Karnata with whom he waged war and whose daughter Padmavati he married". This same writer has identified the heroine of this legend Padmavati with Rūpāmbika wife of Puruṣōttama and mother of Pratāparudra.

Mr. P. Mukherji tried to establish the historicity of the 'Kānchi-Kāvēri tradition' in his recent article. In his opinion

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6. Hist. of Orissa, p.316.

7. J.B.O.R.S. Vol.V. p.146 ff.

8. J. of I.H.Q. Vol.XXI, No.1 March 1945 p.34 ff.



these incidents belonged to 1469, when the Gajapati empire was at its zenith and when there was no need for Purusōttama to conquer Rajahmundry. In support of his conclusion he cited the pictorial representation of this Kānchi-Kāvēri expedition on the wall of the Audience Hall of the temple of Jagannātha. In the Bēdaparākrama ("a walk around the sacred enclosure") written by Balarama Dāsa in the reign of Pratāparudra (1497-1538) we come across the following lines - "After visiting this you will find the representations of the two brothers galloping valiantly towards Kānchi on the wall of the ~~Jagannātha~~ Jagannātha. In footnote 15, the two brothers are explained to be Jagannātha and Balarama."<sup>9</sup>

The date fixed by Mr. Mukherji for the Kānchi expedition of Purusōttama does not appear to be quite correct. In 1469 as supposed by Mr. Mukherji Purusōttama's power did not extend as far south as river Penna. He was nominated by Kapilendra in 1465-66 as heir apparent, while he was fighting against Hamvira his brother. Subsequently Kapilendra died in 1468 and Purusōttama went back to his capital. <sup>At That time</sup> ~~Since then~~ we do not find any traces of Purusōttama's authority in the region to the south of Simhachalam. As such it would have been impossible for Purusōttama to undertake a dashing raid against Kānchi in 1469. In 1470-72 he lost the throne and regained it only in 1475-76 hence the incidents mentioned in the

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9. Ibid. p.43.



legend should belong to a later period.

The legend informs us that the ruler of Kānchi was also ruler of Karnāta or he became ruler of Karnāta subsequently. We know only one such. He was Sāluva Harāśimha who was ruling over North Arcot, South Arcot, Cingleput districts during the period and Kānchi was undoubtedly situated in his territories. There were two campaigns against Kānchi and in the first Puruṣōttama met with reverses and it was only in the second that he could carry away the girl. The ruler referred to in the legend was undoubtedly Sāluva Harāśimha. He became Emperor of Karnāta in 1486 whence forward Hampi Vijayanagara was his capital. Since the legend pointedly says that at the time of the Campaign Kānchi was the capital and hence it should be dated before 1486 A.D. The Katakarnājavamsāvali assert that the ruler of Kānchi pursued Puruṣōttama as far as the banks of Gōdāvari and Puruṣōttama who was then encamped in the other side of the river felt his position most insecure. Muslim historians<sup>10</sup> inform us that Sāluva Harāśimha was encamped on the banks of Gōdāvari with a large army in 1476-77 though they do not mention the causes of his stay there. They also refer to the Oriya forces staying on the other side of the river Gōdāvari and record that he was defeated by Sultan Muhammed Shāh III.

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10. Burhan-I-Ma'asir. I.A., Vol.XXVIII, p.284.



The account of the Katakara-javamsavali read with that of Muslim chroniclers enables us to infer that Purusottama immediately after the recovery of the throne marched against Rājahmundry, took possession of it and from there led a dashing raid against Kānchi,<sup>11</sup> where the girl, fell into his hands. He soon marched back, but was obliged to engage the Bahmani forces on the banks of Gōdāvari. He was defeated and was allowed to go to his country after signing a treaty. Sāluva Narasinha who came up to the banks of the Gōdāvari soon realised the possibility of a combined attack by the Bahmani Sultān and the ruler of Orissa. He did not like the prospect of a defeat on the banks of Gōdāvari which may ultimately effect his life's ambition namely getting the throne of Vijayanagara. Hence he withdrew without giving battle from the banks of the Gōdāvari.

Thus if the legend was really historical, then the incidents mentioned should belong to the years 1475-77 but curiously none of the works from the side of Vijayanagara mention anything about this marriage, which is so very well-known in Orissa. From the trend of later events i.e., Kṛṣṇarāya insisting on the marriage with the daughter of Pratāparudra before any permanent treaty could be concluded, it is possible to suspect that Kṛṣṇarāya was trying to avenge the former disgrace. Let us now examine the story of Sakṣi-Gōpāla which is invariably associated with the Kānchi expedition

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11. Ibid, p. 293.



of Purusōttama Gajapati. According to Katakaraṇjavamsāvali the images were brought from Kānchi. But Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja in his Caitanya Caritāmṛta wrote that Purusōttama conquered Vidyānagara and from there he carried away the Manikya Simhāsana and the idol Saksi-Gōpala. This Vidyānagara mentioned by the Bengali biographer appears to be Rājahmundry. For we find the same author mentioning "Rai Ramananda as a governor of Vidyānagara situated on the Godavari". Kavikarna Pūra in his drama Caitanya Candrodaya writes that "Purusōttama Gajapati brought the image of Gopala from the Mahendra Dasa". (presumably Rājahmundry).

If Vidyānagara of Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja was identical with Rājahmundry then we have to presume that Purusōttama carried away the idol from Rājahmundry while on his way back from Kānchi but the people believed that it was brought from Kānchi.

Thus the Kānchi-Kāveri expedition of Purusōttama took place in 1475-77 and it was against Saluva Narasimha who was then ruling over Kānchi. The idol of Saksi-Gōpala which people believed that it was brought from Kānchi, was actually carried away from Rājahmundry.





APPENDIX. IV.

Some Gajapati Feudatories.



The expansionist policy of Kapilāndradeva necessitated the discovery of a method by which he could keep under his effective control the country he had conquered. He himself rose to prominence from humble beginnings, and if Gangavamsānucarita is to be believed he usurped the throne setting aside the last of the Gāṅga rulers. This necessarily created for him a number of enemies among the supporters and sympathizers of the Gāṅga dynasty. For this reason the activities of Kapilāndradeva during the first ten years were confined to the homeland, where he succeeded in bringing under control the recalcitrant chiefs. Though they acknowledged his overlordship they did not have loyalties either for him or his dynasty. So out of necessity Kapilendra had to resort to a method by which he could ensure for himself the support of some chiefs so that his family might enjoy stable rule. The newly conquered regions he allotted to his supporters and this policy resulted in the creation of small zamindaris side by side with the feudatory states in Orissa. The main duty of these Zamindars was to help the Sovereign with armies in times of emergency and keep under powerful check and control the hill tribes namely Gonds who <sup>inhabited</sup> ~~inhabited~~ these regions. Almost all these Zamindaris are situated in the modern Ganjam district. In the following pages an attempt is made to trace the family history of some of the Zamindaris that had their origins during the rule of the Gajapati dynasty.

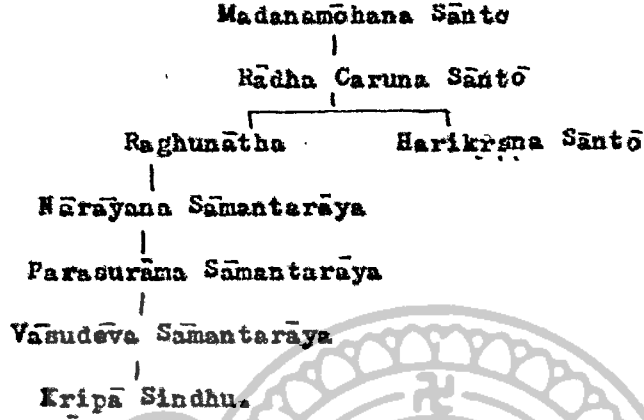


These brief notes on the various feudal Zamindaris are based upon the Local Records prepared by Mr. Brown and preserved in the Oriental Manuscript Library at Madras. There is no independent means to check this information. The account suffers from want of adequate chronological ~~data~~ data. However, an attempt is made here to locate the various Zamindaris on the modern map and identify the wild tribes for whose subjugation these Zamindaris were created.

Huma:— This place is situated very near modern Ganjam and was originally a small village in the midst of impenetrable forests. The wild tribes, (Gōnds and Sabaras) who lived in those forests were giving great trouble to way-farers and even at times impeded the movement of the post and the treasure of the kings. Kapilāndra Dēva with a view to safeguard the roads conferred this region as a Jagir to one of his own followers named Madanamōhana Sānto, who was a famous adventurer. The latter with the help of an army protected the highways. The genealogy of this family during the Gajapati period is as follows.





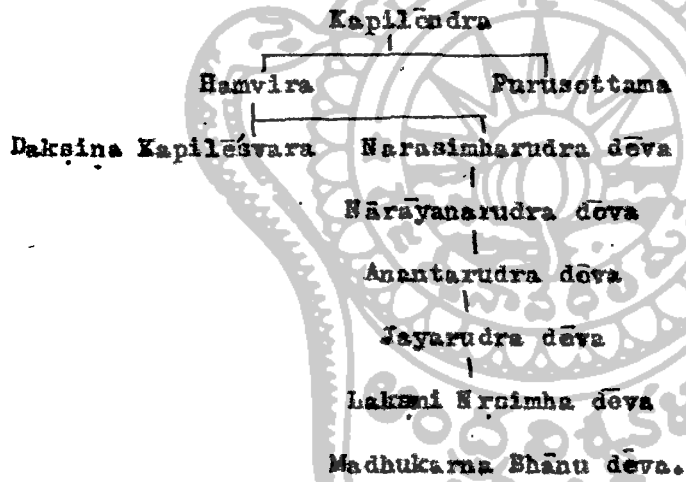


Harikṛṣṇa Sānto the brother of Raghunātha was a famous horseman and was a contemporary of Puruṣōttama Gajapati. He accompanied the monarch in his wars against the rulers of the south and as a token of his valuable services he was appointed as one of the king's body guards. While Puruṣōttama was encamping on the banks of Raikulya, Raghunātha met the king and paid his homage. As a mark of their services Puruṣōttama conferred on Raghunātha the title 'Sāmantarāya Mahāpātra' and presented him with a horse, Palanquin and other insignia of Royalty. Raghunātha Sāmantarāya Mahāpātra, accompanied by his brother, returned to their place. There, after building a fort and palace he christened the village Humma.

This family faithfully served the Gajapati rulers and when the country was conquered by the Qutb Shāhi Sultans of Golkonda they took up service under the Muslims.



Khemidi:— Hamvira, the eldest son of Kapilendra, after sustaining a defeat at the hands of Purusottana, retired to Khemidi and there ruled as a subordinate of his brother. The regions round about modern Peda Kimidi and the whole of Parlakimidi Zamindari appears to have been the territory that was subdued by this Gajapati prince where his family ruled as vassals. The Genealogy of this family can be arranged thus:



The Local Record says that Hamvira was succeeded by his son Narasimharudra deva. From the inscriptions of the period we know that Hamvira had a son by name Daksina Kapileśvara Kumāra Hamvira Mahāpātra and that he ruled Kondavidu and other dependencies as Viceroy in 1464 A.D. But the Local Record is silent about the existence of this son of Hamvira and says that Narasimharudra deva succeeded him as the ruler. Hence we have to presume that Daksina Kapileśvara must have either predeceased his father, or was disinherited by him.



However, Narasimharudra dēva and his family enjoyed this estate and the last in the genealogy cited above is credited with the construction of a temple at Mukhalingsam. He was a devout worshipper of Siva and was popularly known as Śiva Linga Bhānudeva.

Chikati:— To the south east of Khemidi lies the Zamindari of Chikati and the founders of this family were Khandayat and his son Kēsava. During the reign of the last Gāṅga ruler Bhānudeva, one Rāmachandra Rautarāya of this Khandayat family assumed the reins of administration of his fief. He built a fort at Wādapadra about two kos to the east of Hummandi fort. He granted agrahara of 1/10 of the village Rāmachandrapuram to a Brahman Viṣṇu Panda of that locality. He is also credited with the construction of a temple for Rāmēśvara Swāmi near Bhavāṅgir village. He ruled for forty two years faithfully serving Gajapati Kapilendra his overlord. The genealogy of this family is as follows:

Khandayat  
|  
Kesava  
in his family  
Rāmachandra Rautarāya  
|  
Nārāyaṇa Rautarāya  
|  
Narasimha Rautarāya  
|  
Lōkanātha Rautarāya.



While Puruṣōttama was managing the kingdom during the life time of Kapilēndra, Hārāyana Rautarāya son of Ramacandra accompanied Puruṣōttama with his forces and fought several battles. Greatly pleased with his valour and keenness of intellect Puruṣōttama, made him 'Behara Khandayat' or Chief of the Khandayats. After returning from his campaigns Puruṣōttama presented him with Palanquin, horse, elephant, umbrella and other emblems of Royalty. Hārāyana Rautarāya managed the estate for nearly sixty years maintaining the 'dharma' of his fore-fathers and discharging promptly the duties allotted to him by the Gajapati overlord. His son Narasimha Rautarāya selected a beautiful site and there constructed a fortress which he named 'Outer fortress'. In the 27th Anka of Mukundadeva, Lōkamātha Rautarāya son of Narasimha presented an agrahara to one Guru Gōṣāyī on the occasion of a solar eclipse.

When the country passed under Muslim authority these Zamindars accepting their overlordship continued to enjoy their estates.

~~Palur~~— This small Zamindari which lies to the south of Chilka lake, at present consists of eleven Jeroysti and four Agraharam villages <sup>91</sup> also had its beginnings in the time of the Gajapati monarchs. This Zamindari was presented to an adventurer named Dāsaradhi on condition of feudal service and of keeping in check the wild aboriginal tribes of the hills and forests by Raja Puruṣōttamadeva in



1489 A.D. The members of his family served the Gajapati monarchs till the Gajapati line became extinct and the country was conquered by the Muslims.

Khallikota:— This Zamindari, at present has an approximate area of 231 square miles and lies on the northern boundary of Madras Presidency adjoining Banpur country in Orissa stretching along the western shore of Chilka Lake. It has its origins in the period of the Gajapati rule. During the reign of Purusottama the Zamindari was created and conferred on one Rama Khandayat one of the generals in the Gajapati army. He was also honoured with the title 'Bhuyya'. Gangadhara Bhuyya son of Ramabhuyya managed the estate paying a nominal tribute to the Gajapati monarch. Like so many others these Zamindars also transferred their allegiance to the new power when the country was conquered by the Muslims.

Atagada:— The Local Record gives the name 'Ardugada' from which probably the modern name 'Atagada' is derived. This mountainous Zamindari adjoins Kallikota in the east and extends upto the banks of Rsikulya river in the south. In the 12th Anka of the Gajapati King Kapilendra, this part of the country was conferred on one

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1. Ganjam District Gazetteer, p.79.
  2. L.R. Vol.9, p.418-423.



'Bahutapasvi' as a Jagir. Whether this 'Bahutapasvi' was a title or the name of a person we do not know. He improved the estate by constructing towns and temples. The eldest of his eight sons Jagannātha succeeded to the management of the estate in 1458 and he earned fame as a great archer. He assisted Purusōttama Gajapati in his numerous wars and as reward he got the title "Jagannātha Harichandana Jagadēo". He is credited with the construction of eight forts wherein he kept his eight brothers with armies and managed the estate efficiently for twelve years. His family served the Gajapati monarchs faithfully enjoying the revenues of this estate. The genealogy of the family runs as follows:

Bahutapasvī (1440 A.D.)  
|  
Jagannātha Harichandana Jagadēo  
|  
Kṛṣṇa Nissanku  
|  
Orissa Nissanku  
|  
Dāsārathi Nissanku  
├───────────┴───────────┤  
Singo Sānta Singara      Keli Sānta Singara      Gōpāla Sānta Singara  
|  
Gaurinātha Harichandana  
|  
Raghunātha Harichandana Jagadēva  
|  
Ramachandra                      "  
|  
Dhananjaya                        "

All these Zamindaris owe their origins to the Gajapati dynasty and they have survived even to this day.

